"PM" AND THE COMMUNISTS

by A. B. Magil

APRIL 11
1944

NEW MASSES

15¢
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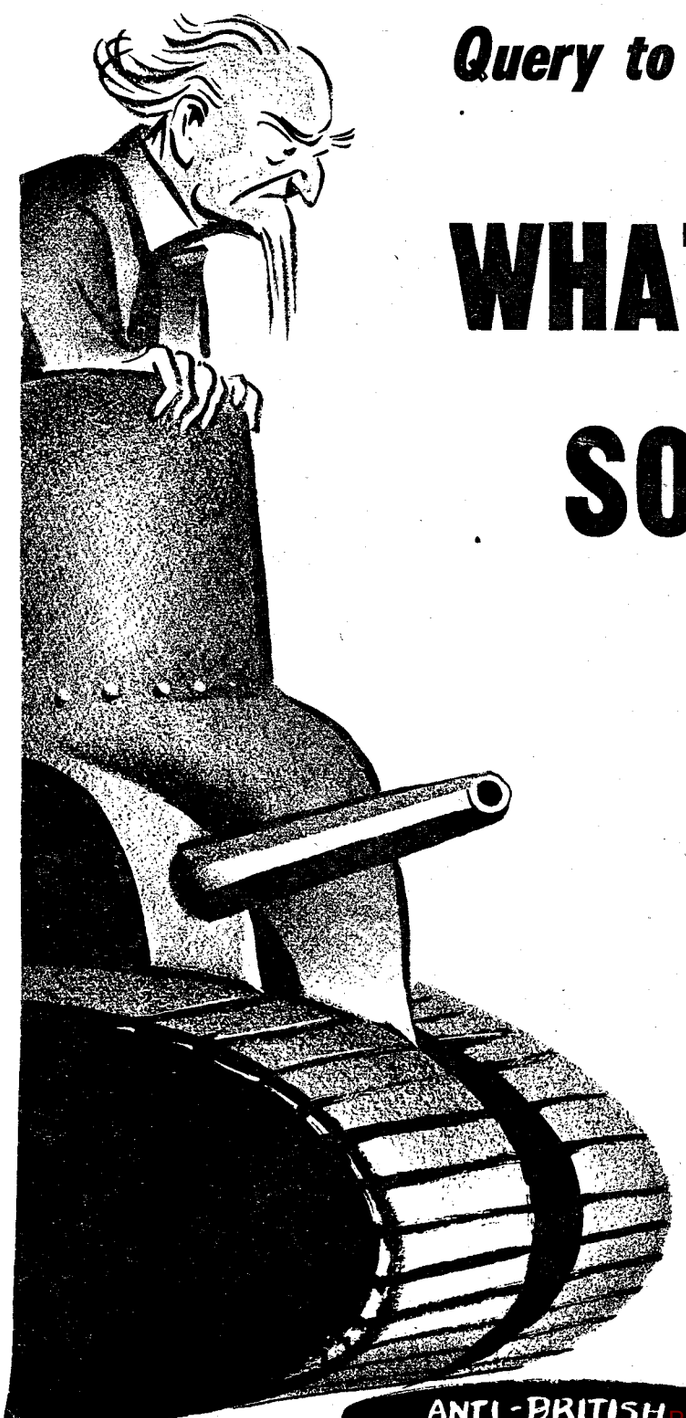

Query to Lindbergh and Gerald L. K. Smith:

WHAT'S YOUR PAL SOUTHARD UP TO?

by JOHN L. SPIVAK

IS SANTAYANA A FASCIST?

A Symposium: Corliss Lamont, Joel Bradford, Howard Selsam

A BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT RUSSIA

by HARLAND H. ALLEN

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WHAT THEY THINK ABOUT SPIVAK

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

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AV NEWYORK NY 1145A MAR 29 1944

NEW MASSES

104 EAST 9 ST NYK

NEW SPIVAK SERIES SHOULD BE READ BY EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS CONCERNED ABOUT HIS OWN AND HIS COUNTRY'S FUTURE. WHO CAN NOW DOUBT THAT THERE IS A CONSPIRACY OF NATIVE FASCISTS TO DESTROY OUR DEMOCRACY. WHO CAN NOW DOUBT THAT EVERY PATRIOTIC AMERICAN IS CALLED UPON TO FIGHT AS HE HAS NEVER FOUGHT BEFORE FOR HIS OWN COUNTRY. WHO CAN NOW DOUBT THAT THE ENTIRE FUTURE OF AMERICA WILL BE SHAPED BY THE 1944 ELECTION AND THE ABILITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO REGISTER THEIR WILL FOR VICTORY PROSPERITY AND DEMOCRACY

LEWIS MERRILL PRESIDENT UNITED OFFICE & PROFESSIONAL WORKERS OF AMERICA

119P

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

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WR NEWYORK NY 412P MAR 29 1944

JOSPEH NORTH EDITOR NEW MASSES

104 EAST 9 ST NYK

YOUR CURRENT SERIES BY JOHN SPIVAK ON THE SECRET PLOT AGAINST AMERICA SHOULD BE REGARDED BY ALL PATRIOTIC CITIZENS AS A VITAL CONTRIBUTION TOWARD VICTORY AND INSURANCE THAT THE PROMISE OF TEHERAN WILL BE SUSTAINED BY OUR NATION AND OUR GOVERNMENT AND CONGRESS. YOUR AND YOUR ASSOCIATES ARE DESERVING OF HIGH PRAISE FOR THIS NOTABLE JOURNALISTIC ACHEIVEMENT

EARL BROWDER

464P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

NORTH SIDE UNITARIAN CHURCH

"THE CHURCH OF FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, EMERSON, AND TAFT"

NORTH AVENUE AT RESACA PLACE

PITTSBURGH (12), PA.

HUGH W. WESTON, MINISTER

OFFICE HOURS:
10 – 12 A. M.
MONDAY THROUGH FRIDAY

TELEPHONE: CEDAR 7255

March 29, 1944

Joseph North, Editor,
New Masses,
104 East 9th Street,
New York, New York

Dear Mr. North:

New Masses deserves the congratulations of every American on running John Spivak's current expose of the Coughlin-McCormick-Lindbergh Axis. New Masses is doing a great patriotic service in exposing those who, under the name of religion, shackle democracy and foster the fascism which would destroy the very spiritual foundations of true religion. A negotiated peace with Hitler is a victory for Hitler and Hitlerism. And a victory for Hitler and Hitlerism is a defeat for religion, and for every human freedom.

Keep on exposing!

Rev. Hugh W. Weston

Reverend Hugh W. Weston, pastor,
North Side Unitarian Church,
North Avenue at Resaca Place,
Pittsburgh, 12, Pa.

The NEW WORLD

THE CENTURY OF THE COMMON MAN

231-234 LYON BUILDING — SEATTLE, WASHINGTON — ELIOT 8449

TERRY PETTUS, Editor

March 28

Dear Mr. North:

New Masses is to be congratulated on the new and startling series by John L. Spivak which carries on the patriotic work you have done for years. In this critical election year it is vital that American people know their enemies. Certainly the American people must demand that the Department of Justice move now on these modern copperheads.

Terry Pettus

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS, PRESIDENT

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NEWYORK NY MAR 29 1944

JOE NORTH, EDITOR NEW MASSES

104 EAST 9TH ST NYK

YOUR SPLENDID SPIVAK SERIES MOST WELCOME & TIMELY. HIS REVELATIONS ARE A GREAT SERVICE TO THE WAR AND TO THE LABOR MOVEMENT. THEY GIVE ALL THE ANSWERS TO WHAT'S COOKING IN THE APPEASER - DEFEATIST KITCHENS. YOUR ENTERPRISING JOURNALISM DESERVES THE WIDEST SUPPORT AND I HOPE YOUR READERS ARE SPREADING THE SPIVAK ARTICLES WHEREVER POSSIBLE. I KNOW I AM.

FREDERICK N MYERS NAT'L MARITIME UNION

426P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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DEAR READER:

Your magazine can, with due modesty, chalk up some few achievements to its credit. Not the least of these, we feel, is the current series of articles by John L. Spivak. The letters and telegrams we have received—a sampling of which we reproduce here—are testimony to the impact of Spivak's revelations. The way the periodicals have currently taken to the task of putting the spotlight on the pro-fascists Spivak exposes is further tribute. We wish every patriotic publication in the country would feel the imperative obligation to tell the truth—and keep telling it—until the contemporary copperheads are crushed.

This series is but one of the many services to our country **New Masses** plans to offer this year. We hope to continue these exposures in further issues this year as well as to offer you the necessary assortment of articles on all matters of national concern.

As we have mentioned previously, on more than a few occasions, you have made possible this perspective of service. What you do in support of the magazine generally, and particularly during the course of our annual fund drive, is an index to NM's effectiveness. You want to know, naturally, the status of our current drive.

To date—a little over $13,000 has come in. This figure, frankly, is not too encouraging. It is about $1500 less than NM received during the same period last year. In other words, we have not elicited the response in 1944 that we did in 1943. As we indicated before, we know many of the reasons—the necessarily higher taxes you are paying; the increased obligations most persons have undertaken—war loan, Red Cross, new schools, and so on. All necessary, all laudable.

But we want to inject a word of warning at this point: **New Masses** stands to suffer under these circumstances—is heading into real stormy weather, financially. It is imperative—for the continuance of NM— to raise $28,000 through May. We have less than seven weeks to go, and to date we have raised less than half that amount in nine weeks. Clearly, the tempo must be increased—or else all our plans will go awry. Instead of planning a magazine at maximum effectiveness, we will be obliged to expend all too much energy and time simply to keep it alive. We had hoped never to have that kind of fighting to do: we want to concentrate on the vast issues this year poses—victory in the war, the reelection of President Roosevelt, the replacement in Congress of the defeatists by win-the-war and pro-Teheran representatives of the people. **That** is our job: **that** is what you consider our job to be. Under all circumstances we will tackle these issues to the best of our ability; but consider how much more effectively we can go at them if we know there is no need to worry about NM's financial problems.

The answer is up to you. We are doing everything we can here—are you matching it out there? You saw the V-letter from North Africa in NM last week: from the man whose life was imperiled daily in the task of defending our country, who said: "NM must now assume its role of leader in correct thought. NM must continue its efforts with more friends and more than ever before—now the chips are down—now we fight or perish—count me in—count all of us in who are determined to see this thing through to the bitter end—to victory over fascism wherever it may rear its ugly head.

"Fight there, friends," he said, "as we fight here."

All we ask is to help us fight.

Joseph North

Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification sent to NEW MASSES rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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Vol. LI, No. 1 209

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THE MYSTERIES OF EARL SOUTHARD

By JOHN L. SPIVAK

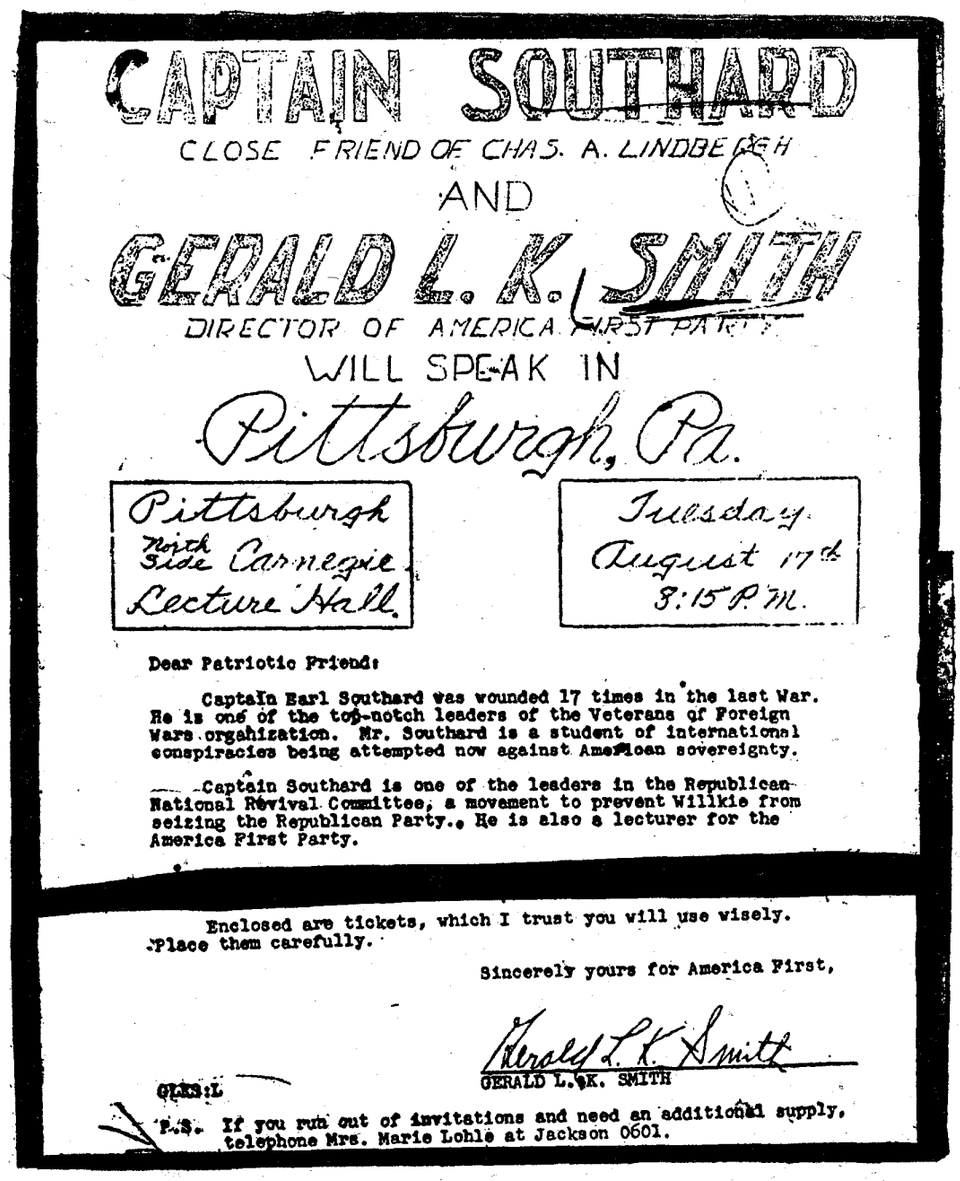
In Chicago, an organization whose head participated in a number of the secret conferences called by Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago *Tribune*, and Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, has completed plans to defeat the Roosevelt administration at the 1944 elections and force a negotiated peace with Germany. This organization, known as the Citizens USA Committee, beats its breast with cries that its sole interest is the nation's welfare, yet everything about its activities is concealed behind a veil of secrecy. It is not even listed in the telephone directory. Its offices are hidden in a cavernous building in Chicago's Loop. There is no sign on the building directory in the lobby marking its presence. It uses no letterheads to disclose both its address and the names of its officers. It keeps no files of correspondence with Congressmen and Senators, and above all, it keeps no financial records from which the country could learn exactly who is financing this "patriotic" movement.

The directing head of this mysterious Citizens USA Committee is Earl Southard, a close friend of Charles A. Lindbergh, who also initiated a number of secret conferences almost immediately after the Nazi debacle at Stalingrad. The organization, under the guidance of Lindbergh's friend, is playing an important part in the planned gigantic propaganda drive scheduled to be launched after the second front is opened and the American people face the inevitably larger casualty lists.

Before Pearl Harbor the Citizens USA Committee was known as the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee. Its honorary chairman was Avery Brundage who, along with Henry Ford, was one of the original directors of the America First Committee. Ford was dropped as a director from the isolationist body with no explanation after considerable public curiosity as to what the motor magnate had done to deserve a medal from the Nazis (a matter which, so far as I know, still awaits an explanation). Brundage was dropped because he was pretty widely credited with pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic sympathies.

The Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee worked closely with the America First crowd to assure the country that we faced no danger of attack from the fascist powers. But right after Pearl Harbor, instead of disbanding, like the America First Committee, it simply changed its name to the one under which it now functions.

Like so many of the isolationist groups, it was rather quiet after we entered the war, but after the Wood-McCormick-Lindbergh secret conferences began, it showed life as if it had got a shot of adrenalin. Public meetings were organized which demanded that aid to England and Russia, which were both doing a competent job of slaughtering Nazis, be stopped. Leaders of mothers' pressure groups, who also had been quiescent, began to confer with Southard, collect women to attend his meetings, and give them the appearance of a mass movement; followers of Charles E. Coughlin came to his sessions and made them ring with boos at the President, England and Russia. I have no



CAPTAIN SOUTHARD

CLOSE FRIEND OF CHAS. A. LINDBERGH

AND

GERALD L. K. SMITH

DIRECTOR OF AMERICA FIRST PARTY

WILL SPEAK IN

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh
North Side Carnegie
Lecture Hall

Tuesday
August 17th
8:15 P.M.

Dear Patriotic Friend:

Captain Earl Southard was wounded 17 times in the last War. He is one of the top-notch leaders of the Veterans of Foreign Wars organization. Mr. Southard is a student of international conspiracies being attempted now against American sovereignty.

Captain Southard is one of the leaders in the Republican National Revival Committee, a movement to prevent Willkie from seizing the Republican Party. He is also a lecturer for the America First Party.

Enclosed are tickets, which I trust you will use wisely. Place them carefully.

Sincerely yours for America First,

Gerald L. K. Smith

GERALD L. K. SMITH

GLKS:L

P.S. If you run out of invitations and need an additional supply, telephone Mrs. Marie Lohle at Jackson 0601.

"We have no relationship at all," Earl Southard told Spivak when asked about his relationship to Gerald L. K. Smith and his America First Party. This leaflet, signed by Smith and describing Southard as a close friend of Smith and Lindbergh, proves Spivak was right. Note that the leaflet, announcing a meeting in Pittsburgh last August, likewise describes Southard as a leader of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, with which Southard also disclaimed any connection.

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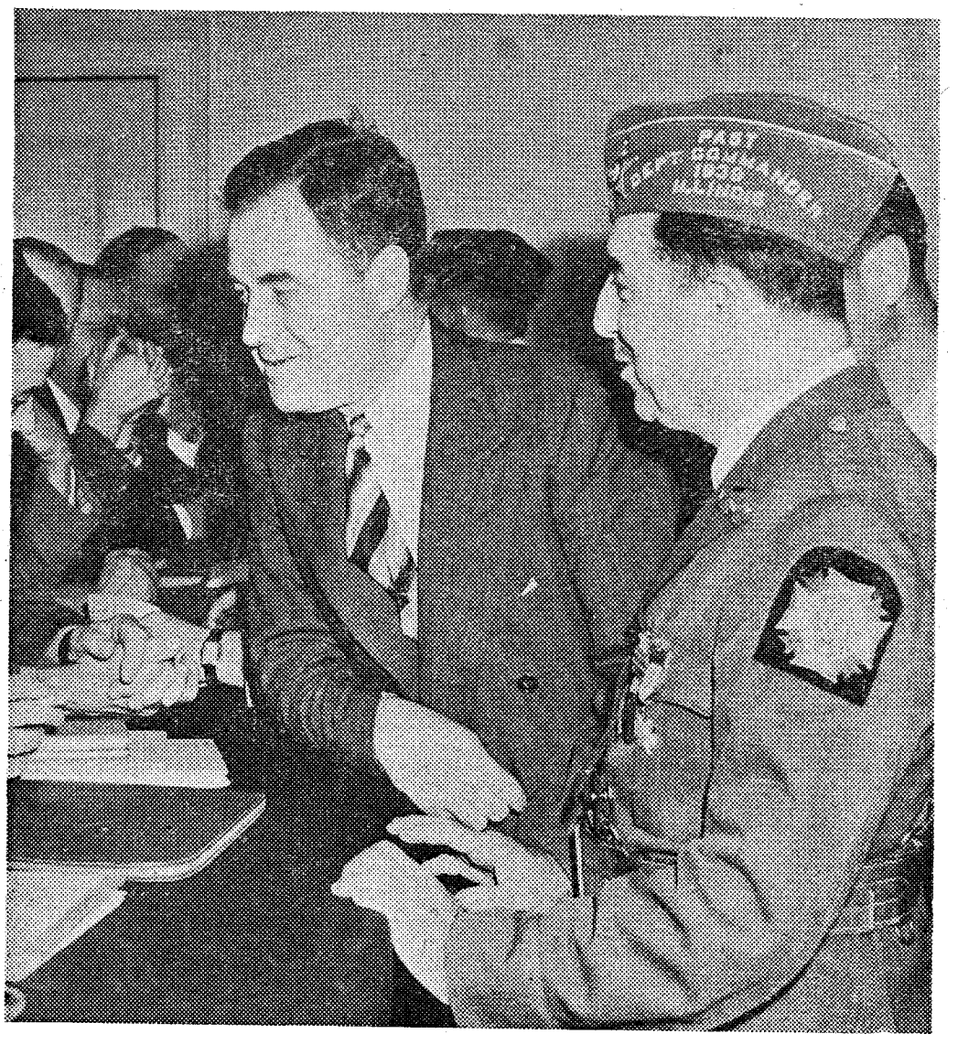
record of boos against the Nazis at any of these meetings.

Out of this "patriotic" outfit's unlisted offices in Chicago tentacles spread into many places throughout the country, followed by meetings tending to create dissension among the Allies and frequently harping on demands for a negotiated peace with Germany. The Japanese were apparently forgotten in the anxiety to end the war with Hitler by negotiation.

At many of the secret sessions called by Wood, McCormick, and Lindbergh, Southard sat in. When US Senator Langer of North Dakota appeared at the Morrison Hotel in Chicago for a behind-guarded-doors session with leaders of mothers' pressure groups, Southard sat in. When Lindbergh, early in 1943, met secretly on the outskirts of Chicago with William B. Gallagher, considered in Boston as Coughlin's personal representative, Gallagher called on Southard to discuss problems. I became very curious about this man and his "patriotic" organization.

I went to Chicago hoping to talk with him. Naturally I expected no difficulty in locating a body which was so active in trying to save the country. When I got off the train I looked for the organization's address in a phone book and was a bit surprised to find no Citizens USA Committee listed. I knew that Earl Southard was supposed to be a well known Chicagoan in the insurance business and I thought perhaps he directed the organization from his own offices. But Southard's name wasn't in the phone book either—not even a business address, in case I wanted to take out some insurance. I have come across so many "patriotic" outfits which hide their addresses while deluging the country with propaganda that I sometimes get the feeling of being among enemy agents instead of stalwart American patriots.



Earl Southard (left), with Capt. William J. Grace (right), who is now director of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee.

I FINALLY discovered that the Citizens USA Committee had offices at 82 West Washington St., and I went there. There was no Citizens USA Committee or Earl Southard listed on the building directory. But I did find the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee listed, and since I knew that Southard and his organization worked closely with them, I thought they might tell me what rooms he had. I found the Revival Committee offices on the seventh floor and asked several gaunt and grim-faced ladies who were preparing huge batches of propaganda leaflets for mailing where the Citizens USA Committee was. They looked at me suspiciously and then at one another.

"They're not in this office," one said finally.

"They're in this building, aren't they?"

Again they looked at one another and then at me.

"We don't know—we don't know anything about them," one said with a fearful note in her voice.

I went back to the lobby and asked an aged elevator operator where the Citizens USA Committee was. He, too, looked at me suspiciously and shrugged his shoulders.

"Ain't it on the directory board?" he asked, rolling a cud of chewing tobacco from one side of his mouth to the other.

"No, it ain't," I said.

"Then I don't know," he said, and started up, though there were no passengers in the car and the elevator bell had not rung. I made more inquiries and finally went to the fifth floor looking for Room 526. There was no sign on the door to show that this suite of offices housed a great patriotic movement bent on saving the nation. A lady with the sniffles sat behind a typewriter in one office off the foyer. As another office adjoining hers was dark, I assumed that was where Southard hung his hat when he was in. In the foyer was a table stacked with publications, some anti-Red and some anti-Semitic.

The secretary with the sniffles eyed me from head to toe, and then blew a great blast on her trumpet, sufficient to summon Southard wherever he might be.

"I'd like to see Earl Southard," I said.

"I have an awful code in the dose," she said.

I expressed deep sympathy. That note of sympathy unleashed pent up emotions and a loneliness which had apparently been piling up. She started on a tale of woe that seemed endless. When I finally got a word in edgewise I asked when Southard would be in.

"Oh, he's wonderful," she said, between less frightening blasts on her nose. "He's looking much better now since he dropped a lot of weight. Must have dropped thirty pounds, I guess."

For twenty minutes I had been listening to her troubles, including shopping expeditions and a suppressed desire to "bop" some salesgirl on the head, but at no time had she admitted that these were the offices of the Citizens USA Committee. At my third direct question about when Southard would be in she finally turned a watery eye on me and showed some interest as to why a stranger had dropped in.

"Who are you?" she asked.

"A reporter," I said.

"Oh," she said, and started off on an-

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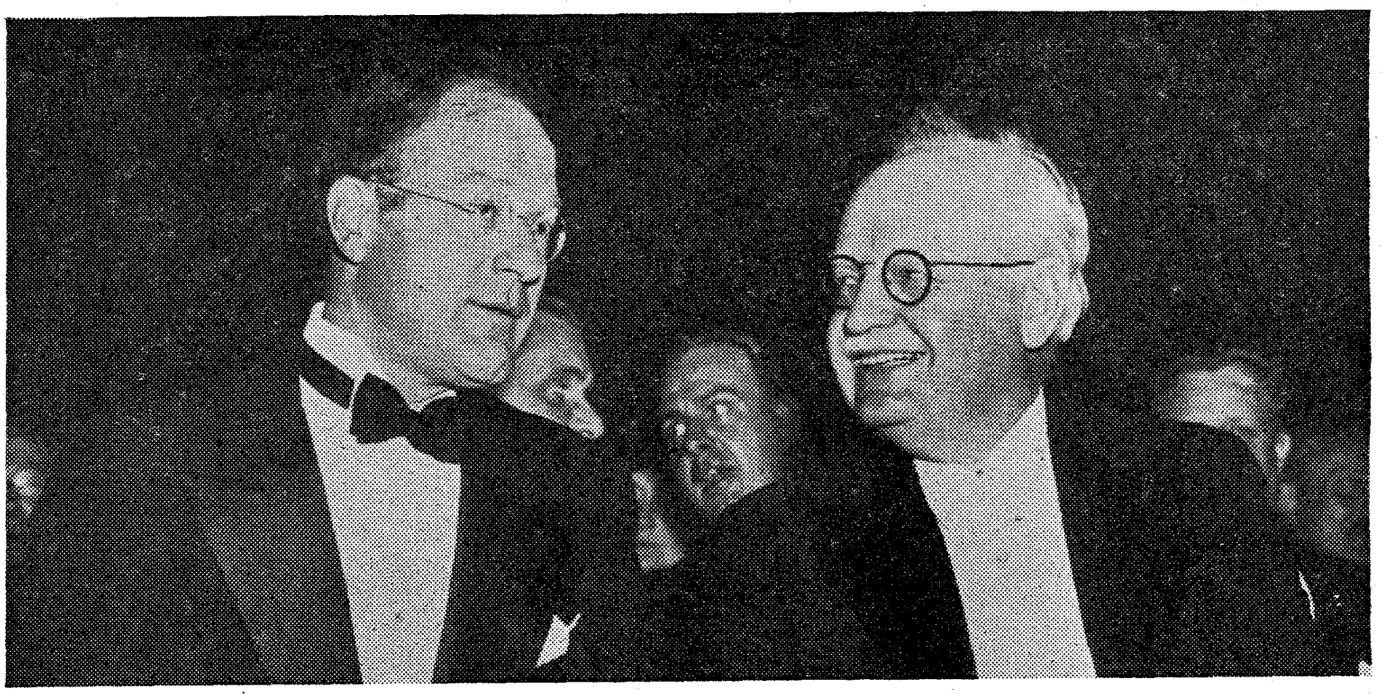

Chatting together cordially, Avery Brundage (left) and Nazi Ambassador Hans Luther (right) are shown at a German Day rally in 1936 arranged by pro-Nazi groups. Brundage was a great favorite among the Nazis at that time because of his insistence as chairman of the American Olympic Committee on American participation in the Berlin Olympics despite protests from all parts of the country. Brundage later became one of the original directors of the America First Committee and honorary chairman of the Citizens-Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee, which changed its name after Pearl Harbor to the Citizens USA Committee. He is now active behind the scenes in the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee.

other seemingly endless tale of woe about her troubles with newspapermen. I listened for three or four minutes and began to laugh.

"Lady," I said, "that's fascinating. Everything you've been telling me is fascinating. In fact you've done a very beautiful job of not answering a simple question. Now, let's try again. Do you expect Southard?"

She looked at me through her watery but now twinkling eyes.

"And if you start on another story about your troubles," I cautioned amiably, "I'll just make myself comfortable and listen to you all day. And I'll be back tomorrow morning and listen all day again. And the same goes for the day after that and the day after that, Now, will you save me some time and also enable yourself to do some work?"

The twinkle in her eye became more pronounced.

"He'll be in at 11:30," she said.

A FEW minutes after Southard was expected, a big, strapping, rather handsome man in his late forties walked in. From her description I knew it was he. Southard weighed all of 200 pounds but did not seem flabby. He has a serious face topped by a head of reddish hair and he peers at people through spectacles like some benign scientist observing a new specimen. He speaks in the even tones of a schoolmaster patiently explaining something to his pupils.

As I rose from my chair the benign air vanished and he looked at me sharply and suspiciously. I introduced myself, told him I was interested in the growth of nationalist sentiment, particularly in the middle west, and that I had come to him as a leading nationalist for enlightenment. He smiled faintly, bowed, and invited me into his office. When I had taken a seat at one end of an old office desk and got out some paper to take notes, he looked at me again thoughtfully and suddenly smiled. His face lights up when he smiles, giving him an almost boyish expression.

"I wouldn't call it an awakening nationalist sentiment," he began patiently as if explaining a problem to a pupil. "I think you'd be more accurate if you said the sentiment had been dormant, chiefly due to British propaganda, and is now coming back into the national consciousness. But don't misunderstand me," he added. "I am not anti-British. I am simply pro-American."

"And the purpose of the Citizens USA Committee—"

"Is simply to help stimulate a nationalistic outlook. I simply teach Americanism."

For some ten or fifteen minutes we discussed opinion-forming agencies like the press, radio, movies, schools, and the church, which, he said, had ruined the American people so that they had no political philosophy. I felt, during his mild mannered comments, as if I were in the cloistered hall of a university discussing an academic subject with one of the teachers. It was difficult to realize that I was in the hidden office of a mysteriously financed propaganda center whose activity tended to create disunity while we were engaged in a war for national survival.

After a while I said, "Tell me a little about the work of your organization. Is the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee an offshoot of it?"

"Oh, no," he said suddenly, shaking his head at so bad a mistake. "Ours is an educational organization and theirs is a political action committee."

"But isn't there a sort of interlocking directorate, so that while seeming to be two distinct organizations they are actually one? Like the directors of your organization who were directors also of the old America First Committee?"

"I wouldn't call it interlocking directors," he said judiciously. "It just happened that people interested in the Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee, which is now the Citizens USA Committee, were also interested in the America First Committee. They just happened to be directors of both organizations."

"And now people who happen to be interested in the Citizens USA Committee also just happen to be interested in the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee, like you?"

"Well," he said slowly, eyeing me with a quizzical air, "that's just an isolated case. I happen to be interested in both. We just cooperate, that's all."

"Isn't Capt. William J. Grace, the active director of the Revival Committee, an official of your organization?"

He smiled faintly. "Yes," he said, "but that's all."

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"The Citizens Keep-America-Out-of-War Committee which, as you just said, is now your present organization, was headed by Avery Brundage, William H. Regnery and you, as I recollect it. Aren't Regnery and Brundage on the executive committee of the Revival Committee?"

He hesitated a moment, and I took out a Revival Committee letterhead. Before I could show it to him he smiled and nodded.

"I believe they are," he said. "I didn't know they had them on the letterheads. But they are not connected with this committee any more."

"Brundage's name actually isn't on this letterhead," I smiled. "Only Regnery's."

He looked at me sharply and grinned slowly. "Really? Then I must have been mistaken."

"He just meets with you gentlemen but does not have his name on the letterheads for the same reasons he was dropped as an America First Committee director? Is that it?"

SOUTHARD's grin broadened. "I suppose we run into him occasionally," he said with disarming frankness, "but he has nothing to do with this organization."

"When did Brundage and Regnery drop out of your organization?"

"Oh, some time ago," he said vaguely.

"Could you give me the date?"

"I'd have to look it up," he said with an apologetic note.

"Do you mind? I'll wait."

"Our records are not in perfect order," he said, peering sharply at me and smiling understandingly.

"I see. But they resigned formally and you have their resignations?"

"I don't believe that was the case. They just dropped out."

"Would you mind letting me see one of your letterheads?"

The smile on his face spread. "We have no letterheads," he said.

"On what do you write letters?"

"On plain paper. I just write a letter and that's all."

"That sort of avoids the problem of telling the world who your officers and directors are and thus also avoids charges of an interlocking directorate with—"

"I just write letters on plain paper," he repeated softly, leaning forward, and peering intently at me through his spectacles. "Regnery and Brundage are no longer connected with this committee."

"Why did they resign?"

"I guess pressure of other business."

"But they manage to find time for the Revival Committee?"

Southard smiled without saying anything.

"Now, let me see if I understand you correctly: the only relationship between your organization and the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee is just general cooperation because you are both going in the same direction?"

"That expresses it perfectly."

"Do you cooperate with other organizations, too?"

"I wouldn't exactly say that we cooperate. We get a few students from Northwestern University—"

"I don't mean that. I mean do you cooperate with organizations led by men like Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, the mothers groups—"

"I wouldn't call it cooperation," he said cautiously. "We're just all going in the same direction."

"Do you exchange speakers with other organizations for your meetings?"

"Oh, no. There's no exchange of speakers. I arrange for all speakers at our meetings."

"You never met in a joint conference with leaders of other organizations to lay plans for a campaign—an educational campaign, of course."

"Oh, no. Never," he said shaking his head. "Nothing like that."

"That's odd," I remarked half to myself. "I understood that at one of your public meetings you yourself announced that you had just completed a conference with leaders of fourteen groups at which detailed plans were laid for the coming presidential campaign."

He looked at me steadily, the benign air supplanted by ice.

"You must be mistaken," he said softly. "I have never attended any such conference and I never made any such announcement. Our meetings often have spies in them and when they have nothing to report they just concoct something like that."

"You wouldn't call Captain Grace a spy, would you?"

The Talmud contains the secret Rabbinical teachings of Judaism. No Gentile has ever read the full contents. However, from time to time, certain portions have come into Gentile hands. In his book, The Talmud Unmasked, Col. E. N. Sanctuary has culled together many of the writings from this secret source. On pages 30 and 31, he quotes an excerpt from the Talmud which reveals the true attitude of Jewish people to our Lord Jesus Christ:

Why is it necessary in American democracy for international Jewry to maintain a secret service department, that functions as an enforcement agency to browbeat, intimidate, coerce, and allegedly bride Christian and Gentile editors and clergymen? Why is it necessary to distribute millions of pieces of Jewish propaganda and promote a speakers' bureau for the purpose of saturating the mass mind?

This is the kind of Hitlerite propaganda that the Citizens USA Committee, headed by Earl Southard, is spreading. These passages are from the booklet "Termites" by the Rev. Harvey Springer, an associate of Gerald L. K. Smith.

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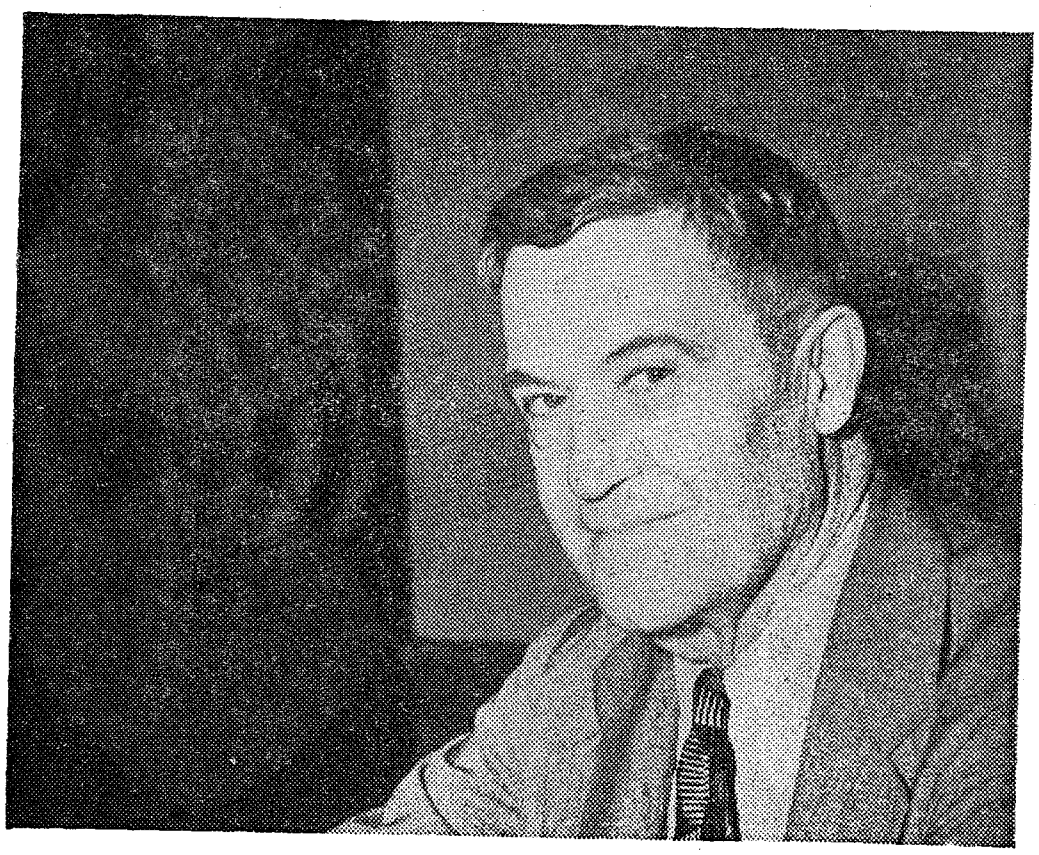

Col. E. N. Sanctuary, one of the veterans of the fifth-column racket. He is the "authority" cited in Rev. Harvey Springer's anti-Semitic booklet "Termites," which the Citizens USA Committee is distributing. Sanctuary has been indicted for sedition together with twenty-nine others, who are charged with being agents of Hitler's world conspiracy. Sanctuary was first exposed by John L. Spivak nearly ten years ago in a series of articles in "New Masses."

"Of course not," he said.

"Captain Grace verified your own announcement of that conference. He told me he recollected that you made that statement but insisted that he did not know who the representatives of the fourteen organizations were or where they came from."

"Captain Grace's memory is playing him tricks," he said, shaking his head sadly.

"That conference was in June," I said quietly. "Perhaps if I mentioned where they came from you might be able to recollect it. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Toledo—"

A THUNDERCLOUD settled over his face.

"I said," Southard interrupted somewhat grimly, "that I never attended any such conference and never made any such public statement."

"Do you think Captain Grace made it up?"

"I cannot account for Grace saying anything like that."

"How about your relationship with Gerald L. K. Smith and his America First Party?"

"We have no relationship with him at all," he said definitely. "And I personally have not heard from him for a long time."

"Aren't you Smith's personal representative in Chicago? Or Smith yours in Detroit?"

"Of course not," he said with a touch of indignation.

"At one of his meetings Smith publicly said you were. You boys better get together," I laughed.

"I can't account for Smith saying anything like that, either."

"I can give you a detailed report of the meeting at which he made the announcement. It was written that same night so there could be no tricks of memory."

"It wouldn't mean anything to me," he said, shrugging his shoulders.

"Have you ever conferred with Smith to lay plans for the 1944 election?"

"When he comes to Chicago or I go to Detroit, we meet and talk things over, but I haven't had what you might call a formal conference with him for so long that I don't remember the time nor the subject discussed."

"Do you recollect going to Detroit for a pow-wow in October, 1943—October 7, I believe—"

Southard leaned forward and he peered at me with a strange intensity.

"You met Smith and Carl Mote (an Indiana isolationist leader who is president of the Northern Indiana Telephone Co.) in the twelve-dollar-a-day suite Smith keeps at the Statler Hotel for his secret conferences—"

"No," Southard interrupted.

"Can't remember anything about it?"

"Not a thing."

"Do you cooperate with leaders of the old America First Committee?"

"The America First is not playing a part in all this at all. I don't know what they are doing."

"Didn't you confer with Wood, McCormick, and Lindbergh a number of times beginning early in 1943?"

Southard's customary benign smile vanished. He adjusted his spectacles, peered intently at me, and then shook his head.

"I have never conferred with Wood or McCormick or Lindbergh, at least since Pearl Harbor," he said slowly and emphatically.

"I understood you had. You know Lindbergh personally, don't you?"

"Yes, but I haven't seen him since long before Pearl Harbor. And I never heard of any conferences with Wood or McCormick."

HE paused and added with even greater emphasis, "I think you should try to understand this: we cooperate with other organizations only insofar as they go along our way. There's no centrally directed effort, if that's what you're driving at."

"That's precisely what I'm driving at," I smiled. "But if you deny ever having had any conferences recently with Wood, McCormick, and Lindbergh, then that's that. There's another part I'd like to bring up: I notice that at your meetings your audiences are whipped up to great indignation against the President, his administration, the British, and the Russians—our two chief allies—"

He did not give me a chance to finish.

"We have no anti-British or anti-Russian attitude. We are simply opposed to foreign governments meddling in the domestic affairs of this country." Then he added, as so many others in his circle almost invariably volunteered in the course of my talks with them, "And we're not anti-Semitic, either."

"I had heard that your meetings are definitely anti-Semitic every once in a while."

"I wouldn't admit an anti-Semitic speaker if I knew he was one!" Southard said indignantly.

"Nor peddle anti-Semitic literature?"

"Certainly not!"

"Isn't the Rev. Harvey Springer, Gerald Smith's boy friend, pretty well known as an anti-Semite?"

"Not that I know of," he said quickly.

"You sell his stuff at your meetings. I assume you read it before you sell it?"

"Certainly; we want to know what's being sold."

"While I was waiting for you to come in," I said gently, "I picked up Springer's booklet *Termites* which you sell. There's a stack of them out in the foyer. Did you read it?"

Southard hesitated and then said, "So far as I know Springer is not anti-Semitic."

"Did you read the booklet?"

After a moment Southard said, "Yes."

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"And you don't think it's anti-Semitic?"

"No," he said definitely.

I STEPPED outside and picked up a copy, opening the pages at random. From page forty-three I read: "Why is it necessary in American democracy for international Jewry to maintain a secret service department, that functions as an enforcement agency to brow-beat, intimidate, coerce, and allegedly bribe Christian and Gentile editors and clergymen?"

Southard just stared at me without saying anything. I turned the page and read: "The Talmud contains the secret Rabbinical teachings of Judaism. No Gentile has ever read the full contents. However, from time to time, certain portions have come into Gentile hands. In his book, *The Talmud Unmasked*, Col. E. N. Sanctuary has culled together many of the writings from this secret source. . . ."

I broke off and glanced at him. "Wasn't Colonel Sanctuary indicted by the federal government for sedition?"

Southard just stared at me.

"I believe this is the same Colonel Sanctuary who worked closely with Nazi agents in this country to spread anti-Semitic propoganda, which is now one of the well known techniques of Nazi agents to create dissension within a country by arousing religious and racial hatreds?"

Southard did not answer.

"Do you think that sort of stuff is not anti-Semitic propaganda?"

"I didn't know that was in there," Southard finally said.

"You read it, I believe you said."

"I didn't know that was in there," he repeated.

"Yet you sell it at your meetings and have it for sale in your office."

Southard peered at me without opening his mouth.

"All right. Let's try something else. You told me you had no letterheads. Do you keep books of your income and expenditures?"

"No. No books. We have some odd records of money—"

"How do you mean 'odd'?"

"Oh, an occasional loose memo or note of some expenditure or printing bill—something like that."

"Do you have an occasional odd note which jotted down the monies you receive from some odd source?" I smiled.

Southard smiled, too and shook his head.

"There may be but I doubt it. I carry it all in my head."

"But you have some, then?"

"Maybe. I'm not sure."

"We could, of course, look," I smiled. He met my eye and also smiled.

"Our records—such as they are—are terribly disorganized," he said.

"I understand. But if you should find such odd jottings, could the public see them?"

"No," he said, shaking his head vigorously, "but I assure you that we have no angels or large contributors."

"Yes, of course; you assured me of a number of things," I nodded sympathetically, "but you are a patriotic organization. Why are such records as you do have so carefully guarded?"

"Because our affairs are our business."

"And not the business of the American people whom you are propagandizing?"

"Is any business' books open to public inspection?" he countered.

"But you are not in business. You are a patriotic organization trying to sell the American people an idea. Don't you think the people should know who is financing such an effort?"

"Our business is our own," he said.

"For instance," I continued, "I know that you do not always meet even the expense of your meetings. The cost of the hall is often more than the collection you take up. Then there is the printing of material, office rent, your secretary's salary, the trips you take to various parts of the country. That means deficits, I assume?"

"Sometimes we have deficits," he said warily.

SATURDAY, APRIL

Wood Disavows Gerald Smith's America First

General Says NewPartyHas No Tie to HisCommittee, Disbanded Early in '42

CHICAGO, March 31.—General Robert E. Wood, former acting chairman of the America First Committee, repudiated today any connection between that organization and the America First party of Gerald L. K. Smith.

"Gerald Smith is trying to capitalize on the name of the organization, without any connection whatsoever," General Wood said.

"We disbanded our organization, which was formed in an attempt to keep America out of the war. ...fter Pearl Harbor, and despite the ...ng that something ...

General Wood is busy issuing denials these days since Spivak began making embarrassing revelations about the secret conferences he, Col. Robert R. McCormick, and Charles A. Lindbergh have held as part of a conspiracy to force a negotiated peace with Germany. This particular denial is rather belated in view of the fact that Gerald L. K. Smith has been organizing his America First Party for over a year.

"How are those made up?"

"Oh, sometimes I make them up. If they are a little too much, I tell a fellow or two and they help meet them."

"And no records are kept of such contributions?"

"No."

"Do you deposit them any place?"

"Yes, in my name and my bank account."

"Are such contributions in cash?"

"As a rule."

Again that look came into his eyes of "so what can you do about it?"

"But not all contributions are deposited?"

"Not always," he smiled. "If I have a bill to pay I take the contribution and pay it. It isn't always necessary to deposit it."

"Just makes for additional records, eh?"

A broad grin spread over his face. "I wouldn't say that. It's just that it isn't necessary sometimes. I just get the money, pay the bill and that's all."

"And there is no record as to whom you got the money from or whom you paid it to?"

"It's more convenient when your transactions are small to handle them in cash," he smiled confidently.

THIS "patriotic" organization run by Lindbergh's friend keeps no financial records except occasional "jottings" and no files while it carries on a campaign against the President and his administration, organizes meetings which whip up sentiment against our two chief allies fighting the Nazis and confers with leaders of mothers' pressure groups who are now busy shrieking for a negotiated peace with Germany.

Just who and what is behind these activities by Lindbergh's friend who sat in on a number of the secret conferences called by Wood, McCormick, and Lindbergh is a matter which might interest the federal authorities. In the past, when I have come across an organization which kept no records and whose propaganda tended to create disunity among the American people, I frequently found mysterious hands pulling strings behind the scenes, and sometimes those hands came from a great distance.

Southard's organization was originally run by both himself and Capt. William J. Grace. Before Pearl Harbor both were active in spreading propaganda which tended to hamper our defense efforts. Today Southard carries on from his unlisted offices in Chicago's Loop, while Captain Grace, who still helps direct Southard's organization, is the active head of the Republican Nationalist Revival Committee. Under the guise of a political campaign this committee carries on activities which create disunity in our efforts to destroy the Nazis and its influence extends into the Republican Party. The Revival Committee itself has some very peculiar aspects about which I shall write further next week.

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A BUSINESSMAN LOOKS AT RUSSIA

By HARLAND H. ALLEN

The following is a businessman's point of view on the need for lasting friendship with the Soviet Union. The author is a consulting economist who has taught corporation finance and taxation in a number of colleges and has been the economist for two large banking institutions. He now has his own investment management firm in Chicago. Mr. Allen's article is reprinted from a brochure circulated by the United Business Service of Boston.—The Editors.

WHEN the war-making ability of Germany and Japan has been liquidated, two nations in the postwar world will possess the bulk of its industrial-military power—Russia and the United States. There is great danger and yet great opportunity in that fact.

Such concentration of world power at but two centers can lend itself to completely opposite tendencies, and results. It can be the prelude to: (1) a bitter and protracted struggle for the supremacy of one, as happened in the case of Carthage and Rome two thousand years ago, or (2) a beneficent cooperation to promote an era of peace and prosperity, such as was achieved by the collaboration of British and American sea power a hundred years ago. It is noteworthy for our time that the latter and more fortunate of these historic developments was achieved despite the fact that one of the countries was a crusading new republic and the other an imperialist monarchy, and at a time when these two had just concluded a war—not as allies but as enemies.

Against such a background of history, it should be obvious to thinking Americans, whether of the right or the left, that the principal hope for genuine "peace in our time" lies in a formula for friendly cooperation with Russia.

Few if any Americans have as much at stake in a peace formula vis-a-vis Russia as the businessman and investor. Yet friction with the Soviets at the end of this war means, at the very least, a continuance of vast military expenditures—beyond the time when our war debt, at $250 to $300 billion, will already approximate the wealth of the nation. An actual collision with the Russia which proved able to crush German armies would lift our country's financial obligations beyond probable capacity to redeem them, while the whole institution of private enterprise might be forfeit to the prolonged regimentation which such a war would require.

Such facts can hardly fail to be reflected in security values—in trends of the stock market, business opportunity, and employment. In fact, I believe there is no single factor more essential to the underlying strength of security values than recognizable progress toward postwar cooperation between the United States and Russia, nor anything more certain to break prices wide open than a clash with Russia.

Hitler's great mistake back in 1941 was in misappraising Russia from a military standpoint. Now there is a comparable challenge to businessmen and citizens of the United States (a country which is certain to have increasingly broad relations with the Soviets) that we do not misappraise them in economic and political fields.

IT MUST be admitted that our record to date is none too promising. It was a practical certainty on the basis of what American businessmen accepted as fact in 1941 that the state-owned railroads of Russia would break down within a few short weeks under the strain of war. But Russian transport stood up, not only to servicing the Red Army and the essential requirements of industry, but to the near miraculous transplantation of industrial plants, raw materials, agricultural equipment and populations from threatened areas to the far rear.

We were taken by even greater surprise at what Russia proved able to do with overland motor-driven transportation. Yet for this there was not even the excuse of Russian secretiveness, because our own Department of Commerce had been publishing statistics for several years before the war showing Russian production of commercial vehicles (mostly trucks) averaging two and a quarter times that of Germany, and Russian leadership over all rivals in tractor production.

In midsummer of 1943 a Wall Street boom in air transport shares got started on the presumption that America would "dominate the air" in postwar flying. This was an outgrowth of wholly inadequate knowledge concerning the extent of Russian experience in flying, the potentials of Russian manufacturing in that field, and the shortly-to-be-recognized interest of the Soviet government in reciprocal franchises for postwar routes.

It is my definite impression that American businessmen as a group have remained ignorant of much of Russia's industrial achievement because of wishful thinking and/or concern on the part of too many publishers that an adequate description of what has been happening in Russia would sound like approval of the principle of national planning. Journalists have been positively fearful of open-minded reporting on Russia lest they get tagged—or tarred—with the fatal epithet "Communist." This attitude might be defensible concerning the performances of a minor, but not of a major nation.

Later evidence of the persistence of such tendency was seen in the almost universal reporting at the beginning of October, 1943—that the Russian summer offensive had completely bogged down, and could hardly be expected to resume "before the winter freeze." Yet within seventy-two hours, many of the *same* news channels felt impelled to carry headlines that the Russians had then launched "the greatest offensive in the history of warfare."

It has been too easy in America to let our pride in lend-lease aid to the Soviet ally get our perspective out of balance regarding the total picture on the Eastern Front. Yet for sound appraisal of current factors in the war and of potential factors for the peace it needs to be recognized that well over ninety-eight percent of American production has *not* gone to the Russian front.

I find the analysis of Russian population figures very enlightening. The readily available census of 1939, for instance, permits us to understand that while Russia's total population is barely twice that of continental Germany and approximately one-third larger than our own, Russians under forty years of age and thus available to support the war and to activate the peace are considerably greater in proportion. When one checks with particular reference to Russia's probable vitality for a postwar comeback, it is astonishing to find that the youth of high school age and under (born in Russia during the optimistic period since the first five-year plan) total up to three times as numerous as those added to our population during the same span of years—i.e., since 1929.

Nor is it enough to evaluate Russia in terms merely of military campaigns. We shall be unrealistic to the point of stupidity if we do not recognize that such resourcefulness and such character will make an equally great place for the Russian nation in the years to follow the war.

MODERN Russia has licked much more than Nazi armies. In addition to solving the worst transportation problem in the history of transportation, modern Russia had to meet, and beat, an unparalleled problem of war-industry bottlenecks—when a swift blow by the Nazis captured or destroyed nearly half her production capacity. She licked a food problem brought on by loss of the Ukraine and parts of the Caucasus which would rival the condition of the United States if we lost most of the Mississippi valley. She has licked a health problem of unprecedented magnitude, while

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waging uninterrupted war through two long winters.

It does not make sense to assert, as many Americans still do, that the way to deal with such a nation is to be hard-boiled and pointedly suspicious.

Fortunately, there is much less reason for conflict than for cooperation with Russia. There are no common boundaries to cause friction. Substantial similarities of character and outlook between the peoples of the USSR and of the United States have been noted by many commentators. At the war's end, both will stand out for their military and production attainments, also as imaginative, pioneering, and generous peoples. Both will be recognized as uniquely self-sufficient in the diversity of their industries and raw materials, in the adequacy of their food supplies, and as the readiest sources of supply for those toward whom fate has been less kind. Both will be recognized as non-imperialistic and peace-loving.

When world vision has cleared with the passing of war clouds, the above similarities and parallel interests will be more widely recognized. Public opinion at home and abroad will then rate such qualities as significant new reasons for peaceful collaboration, and will be distinctly less tolerant of those who try to magnify differences and cultivate disagreements.

Against such a background, enlightened people at home and abroad will be increasingly competent to judge the relative merits of qualities which these countries have in contrast. Most of all, against such a background, public opinion will expect these nations to treat each other as equals. That is and will be a significant challenge to America, for the simple reason that our country became an industrial giant at an earlier date. With the help of history, however, it should be possible for us to understand that primacy in such development may not be convincing as to the permanent validity of a nation's current theories of government and economics. China, you will recall, developed printing and gunpowder centuries (not merely decades) before we became proficient in their use.

Approached candidly (without emotion or short-sighted self-interest), the only issues which have had any prospect of making trouble between the United States and Russia are seen to be issues toward which neither can afford to be intolerant. They are (1) the right of the individual country to choose (freely) the kind of internal political and economic organization which it prefers, and the right to prideful development of such "ways of living" without attempt to export same by force or high pressure "missionary work"; (2) the right of each country to geographical boundaries that have been sanctioned by history, or by the expressed preference of significant ethnic groups.

With the dissolution of the Comintern, Russia appears to have put herself in much the same non-aggressive position toward what she calls economic democracy as the United States has long taken regarding our conception of political democracy. . . . In relation to boundaries, there seems no likelihood that postwar claims of the United States will conflict with Russia's conceptions of what is sound and just. Similarly, Russia has made no boundary claims from the Arctic to the Black Sea which do not rest on 100 years of pre-Soviet occupation, nor concerning which the United States could possibly interfere with hope of success. In fact, in relinquishing the rule of Finland, the Soviets have given up one sizable territory and ethnic group which was for centuries under the Russian flag. Any effort by the United States to force more territorial concessions from Russia, whether to gratify imperialist hopes of such as Poland's refugee government, or merely to "reserve" certain areas for capitalist development, could hardly fail to let loose boomerangs against our *legitimate* hopes for business in Europe and Asia.

POSTWAR opportunity for American exports is a truly vital matter to the business health of this country, and a matter which hinges in large degree on relations with Soviet Russia. If these relations are amicable, the revival of international trade after this war may not be too different from its nature and content in previously prosperous periods.

Systematic destruction by the Nazis in the occupied regions of Russia has been so complete that there will be immediate need of equipment for upwards of thirty million people—the largest single market ever known. Moreover, the most urgent import needs of the USSR will be for heavy machinery, railroad equipment, electric generating equipment and machine tools—the precise types of heavy industry outlet which the United States will need most at the end of the war (a) to absorb surpluses from war production and (b) to sustain employment in capital goods production areas.

The Soviets can pay for such equipment with goods or gold—fortunately with goods which are largely noncompetitive here, like furs, timber, manganese, chromium, platinum and asbestos. But it must not be assumed that Russia will take our goods regardless—regardless of prices; regardless of our political attitude toward her boundaries and defense problems. Russia's mighty industries east of Moscow and the Urals will be just as usable to forward the peacetime goals of that country as its wartime goals.

Other international relations being satisfactory, Russia will doubtless wish to import as large a proportion as possible of her rehabilitation equipment, so that present industry there can proceed with the expansion of consumer goods—to lift the living standards above levels reached in the early 1930's, when major attention had to be diverted to defense industry.

But if relations are strained between the leading capitalist country and the leading socialist country, trade between them will obviously be held to a minimum and relations with bordering countries, great and small, will be adversely affected. Many of these will be as reticent about making commitments that would seem to align them on one side or the other as were the jittery neighbors of Germany in the strained period preceding 1939.

A threatened struggle between Russia and the United States would rip China wide open so that there might not be a beginning of that anticipated vast flow of industrial goods from American factories to a modernizing China. . . . The same would be true to a lesser degree of India, the next most populous nation on earth. . . . Coy Turkey, together with the vast Arab regions which to a large extent take their cues from her, would feel impelled to make limited use of American credits and to keep a watchful restraint on any kind of American influence which could become embarrassing vis-a-vis Russia. The Balkan states, which border on European Russia and have added racial ties to the Soviet motherland, would be similarly affected. Yet this is a region which needs industrial equipment on a large scale, both for its own account and as a stabilizing factor in Europe—to end a troublesome dependency on industrial Germany.

American industry is literally banking on export markets to take up the slack in heavy industry after war contracts are terminated —banking on this to an unprecedented degree to help absorb war personnel in the demobilizing and reconstruction period. It would be an extreme disservice to free enterprise to let unnecessary friction with Russia cut down this sustaining volume at such a critical time.

Doubtless it will be asserted by the kind of Americans who were short-sighted before the war that the whole world will need American goods and will take them greedily, as the one available source of

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supply. But American goods (after lend-lease) will not be purchased without credits; and unless there is realistic promise of peace with Russia you can be pretty sure that such credits will be turned down by American bankers, or by Congress, or both.

THERE is another reason even more fundamental why good fellowship between the United States and Russia has become of utmost importance to the people of both countries. That is because we can have no stabilized peace without it.

When this war ends, the fact that Russia and the United States will control the bulk of the world's military power means that if harmony rules between them the world may soon achieve a program of collective security under which each country's ideas of what is best in the way of internal political and economical organization can have a fair trial.

Given such a disposition to live and let live, there can then follow the first genuine disarmament of modern times. Private enterprise in populous areas of the Old World will have its first opportunity, unfettered by the threat of war and the costs of war, to show what it can do toward lifting the living standards of the masses of the people. Of course, the price of such opportunity will be to concede similar freedom for others to use "The Middle Way" to advancement, as in Sweden; also the socialist way, as in Russia. A great many capitalists in this country and Britain will be loath to accept such a solution or formula for world peace—particularly those who grew up in an age when private enterprise had a somewhat exclusive franchise on the business of the world—when private bankers held the world's purse strings, could call the starters in any race, could almost say what was moral and what immoral.

Apparently some of us still need to have it spelled out that *that world* has not been what it used to be since semi-feudal Japan proved able in 1932 to repudiate unilaterally the Nine-Power treaty; that it has been a much-changed world since totalitarian Germany repudiated the freedoms of both enterprise and government, and almost abolished them in 1940 when overrunning Western Europe; that it got a new lease on life, but with a definitely narrower franchise, when Communist Russia proved able to stop the previously unstoppable Nazis.

Apparently much of the business and banking community has still to make practical adjustment to the fact that the same Russia which found itself able to cope with Hitler's military machine will expect—and be able—to play a similarly important role in postwar affairs. Certainly her geography favors it. Russia's elongated "one-sixth of the world" which lies so near the center of the populated hemisphere almost guarantees a more important role in the age of air transportation and radio communication than this landlocked country could possibly have taken as long as the seas were the principal channels between nations—for men, their goods, and their ideas.

American investors who think rationally about the position of the United States in postwar air commerce need to begin with recognition that Russian air bases, and great expanses of Russian territory, lie between us and two-thirds of the population of the Eastern Hemisphere—fifty percent of the world. Moreover, the USSR has a short-hop advantage for the air age, in addition to being the natural crossroads for stratosphere flying. A 1,500 to 2,000 mile belt of thickly inhabited country runs for 7,000 miles along the southern and western borders of the USSR and thus places most of the population of the Eastern Hemisphere within six hours' flying of Russian industry and service. Obviously, no other nation has an air accessibility to trade territory which is even comparable to this.

Significantly, too, Russia's principal postwar neighbors within that vast belt will be as non-aggressive toward her territory and institutions as are Canada and Mexico toward ours (i.e., the great pacifist peoples of India and China, together with those which will have been rather permanently "pacified" by victory of the United Nations, namely, Germany and Japan). Thus the postwar geographical position of this (Great Circle) neighbor of ours will be as strikingly improved from a defensive standpoint (by the military conquest of fascism) as from a commercial standpoint (by scientific conquest of the air).

DESPITE all these advantages which will make Russia incomparably stronger defensively at the end of the war than she was when Hitler struck in 1941, there is another resemblance to the United States which constitutes substantial assurance that a strong Russia will not be an aggressive Russia. This is the peace-loving character of her people. The soldiers of modern Russia have never fought for domain beyond 1914 frontiers.

Apprehension over Communism in the United States has not been related to the strength of Russia in a military sense. Our greatest concern that such extremism might get a foothold here has been at times when the Russian system was less strong than now. That concern arose primarily from weakness in our system brought on by lack of corrective attention to certain ills—when punishing unemployment, as in 1932, published a critical need for remedies; and again in 1938 when a sudden relapse showed that mere humanitarian measures and deficit priming were not enough.

"Guerrilla Fighter."

Beyond any doubt, much of Russia's phenomenal strength for the present war came from machines and methods developed in free-enterprise America. She had purchased our machines and had sent her technicians here to study our methods. We took pride in this contribution to Eastern Front victories. We knew that without some of the formulas borrowed from free enterprise her system might not have been able to meet successfully the ultimate strain.

But one thing free enterprise has tended to overlook in Russia. That is the possibility that a people so numerous, so intelligent, and so similar to us in many ways, yet with sharp contrasts in background and experience, may have something to contribute to us besides "share-the-wealth" ideas. Perhaps some factual observation of the Russia which saved the world from catastrophe would contribute to our solution of crucial problems. It might be a formula for more successful race relations; it might be ideas for the fuller use of cheap waterway transportation; it could conceivably be a clue for full employment in peacetime. At the least, such observation would give us a better understanding of the Russia we are going to live with. That would mean less risk of misunderstanding, friction, and war—much greater assurance that the private values of investors will not become casualties of unnecessary war-debt inflation, nor free enterprise the victim of complacence.

In conclusion, it seems to me that there are three great factors in the relationship of Russia and the United States which emphasize the historic responsibility of these two countries for peaceful cooperation. First will be their postwar control over what it takes to break the peace—their near-monopoly over the munitions of war. Second is the great range of similarities between these peoples—paving the way to mutual understanding. Third is the notable contrast in history and surroundings (experience) which should provide each an unusual capacity for supplementing the other and benefiting from the other. No understanding of Russian-American potentials for complementary service is even partially complete without recognizing that while America grew to sturdy greatness on a continent almost by herself, the Soviets achieved their present vigor and world importance with a bellicose Germany literally on one doorstep and a threatening Japan on the other.

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GUNNING FOR THE OPA

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

AT FIRST glance the legislative onslaught against OPA now shaping up on the Hill has the lulling quality of sameness. Coming back to Washington after an absence of more than two months, I heard the same witnesses before the Senate Banking Committee that I had heard last year before the Smith committee and the Senate Agriculture Committee and the Boren committee and so on. The same lobbyists for the landlords, and the corporation cattlemen and farmers, and the wholesale grocers, and the food industry were talking. The same press agents, with a new one added, were on hand from the National Association of Real Estate Boards. Familiar OPA faces were in the audience, key men who perforce must spend a good part of their time testifying or listening before the various congressional committees which are always delving into OPA affairs. Some of them, such as Thomas I. Emerson, Chief of Enforcement, one of many OPA employes who, unknown to the public, obscurely and heroically keep plugging away in the face of great odds, appear a little grayer and wearier than when I last saw them.

It is a decorous hearing, minus the inquisitorial aspects of the Smith committee hearings. Sen. Arthur Capper, who has finally given in and bought an ear device, does not let it disturb him, but cat-naps while Ivan Carson, who succeeded the vigorous Paul Porter in rent control, murmurs almost apologetically that real estate operators in twenty-five cities where rents were frozen early have increased their net operating income some twenty-seven percent as of July 1, 1943, compared to 1939.

The Smith committee, that ubiquitous body set up to investigate government agencies to determine if they have abused powers conferred by Congress, is about to issue another report. This time, having done its smearing of OPA in previous reports, it is recommending amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act. Not relishing a jurisdictional quarrel with the House Banking and Currency Committee, authorized to handle legislation on extending the act, which expires June 30, the Smith committee will make its recommendations to the Banking Committee. This does not mean that it won't try to hog the stabilization spotlight when it reports to Congress.

It is only the faces and the issues and the voices—the familiar rasp of Sen. Robert A. Taft's dominating all the others—which are the same, however. The industry lobbyists and the Republican hatchet men, who to date have hacked away here and there, are now together concentrated on the kill. They have perfected a new line. They have smartened up. And, with their new window dressing, they are taking out and dusting off all the bills they've tried to get through before (and a lot of new and subtler ones) in one grand drive to amend the Economic Stabilization Act in such a way that price and rent control will be emasculated thoroughly. In the process these Republicans, aided by poll-tax Democrats, hope to stir up discontent on the home front so that it will count against the administration in the '44 elections.

Thirty-five amendments, new and old, have been introduced, and others are being planned. Now every lobbyist, and this includes the congressmen-lobbyists who appeared before the Smith committee to argue for bills watering down rent control and crippling OPA, declares that the act must be continued, that price control must stay for the duration, that in effect he loves OPA dearly but hates to see it less efficient than it might be. Only to improve OPA he suggests various things. A favorite is that "the language of the act be clarified," as Rep. Jesse P. Wolcott put it.

WOLCOTT, Michigan Republican, is the leader of the drive on OPA in the House and the author of numerous—and the worst—amendments. One of these would repeal that part of the act which creates the Emergency Court of Appeals. Its attackers always allude to it as if it were devised by the OPA, but it is Congress' baby. Wolcott would set up a Board of Review in OPA but would throw all appeals from it into the federal courts. Every landlord, canning company, or store which didn't like an OPA regulation or ruling could rush into court with it, with his griefs well publicized in the meantime, and enforcement would be pretty thoroughly nullified over the country. One added little fillip would make all War Labor Board rulings subject to court review—with possibly fatal results to unions, and the entire stabilization program, and to the great satisfaction of such defiance-publicity hounds as Montgomery Ward.

But Wolcott assured me with a straight face that he had added this just to protect labor. He volunteered, moreover, filling his pipe and slowly puffing, speaking in the measured tones and the deliberate, legalistic language of that other pipe smoker and labor lover, Sam Hobbs of Alabama, that he was working on a proper definition of the term "gross inequities." Congress gave the President authority under the act to make adjustments in wages and salaries to correct "gross inequities," he said, implying it was darned nice of them to do it, and that authority, he said, has been abused.

Asked if he didn't expect strong opposition from labor on his various amendments, Wolcott said soothingly there was no reason for labor to oppose them. Had he talked to any labor leaders about them? "No," he said ruefully, puckering his full lips in a pout, so that his face resembled even more strongly that of the rotund Kewpie doll which adorned his desk. "They don't come in here to see me." He sighed. He had been telling me how he thought there "has to be a flexible procedure on wages," just as on prices. He was opposed to rigidity. That, too, is the line of Republican strategy. They hope to avert the only effective organized opposition to the drive toward emasculating price control, and feel at the same time that it isn't amiss to woo labor before the elections.

"The situation," he said, "was like that very much misunderstood amendment of mine on the President's power to set a limit on salaries." (The President's $25,000 salary limitation order was killed by Congress.) "Labor misinterpreted that," he went on. "My concern was that if he had that power, there was nothing to prevent his setting a ceiling of $1,000 on the wages of the working man." The misunderstood man went on with a touch of bitterness. "I suppose the radical labor leaders will oppose these amendments, too. They campaigned against me last year. They supported my opponent, a banker, who had never had to work for his living, while I—" his chins shook and he held out his pudgy hands for me to see—"I had scars on my hands from the labor I had to do. As a boy of sixteen, I worked in a chair factory for ten cents an hour. They killed my brother, my father—" Well, his father had lived to the age of seventy-four, it developed, but he had no unemployment insurance—nothing—in his last years, and his brother died young with a lung ailment caused by breathing sawdust ten hours a day. You would think that this might make Representative Wolcott a champion of labor legislation. But did it? "So it hurts," I asked, "to have the UAW against you?"

"Well, I have to admit," he said more calmly, with a slightly grim chuckle, "that I don't covet their support. I know I couldn't get it anyway—just because I'm a Republican." His district is sixty percent agricultural, forty percent industrial workers, he added. He wants to save farmers and small business and workers from the "socialization" of OPA, he said. He was working on an amendment which would

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prevent OPA from controlling profits. "This country was built on the profit system," he said portentously. I said I knew of no OPA regulation based on the amount of profits an industry made, although I had heard much talk of this before committees. I had heard President Eric Johnston of the US Chamber of Commerce testify that he didn't believe OPA was trying to institute a new system and control profits, but many feared it was. This proposed amendment will be, from what industry spokesmen say, a requirement that *any* item under price control must be profitable—not any *class* of items.

"Oh, OPA says they're not controlling profits, but that's how they sneak up on things," said Wolcott. "Once they've controlled profits, they've socialized industry, with firms going out of business and men losing jobs. And then there'd be nothing to stop 'em from limiting wages to $1,000 a year."

Since the act contains a provision that wages must not be cut below the highest wage between January and September 1942, I suggested perhaps labor was more worried about other things. He said perhaps the radical labor leaders were. Actually the strategy of the hatchet men is to talk about relating wage and price increases —in the future. It ignores the fact that a basic part of economic stabilization is an upward revision of the Little Steel formula *now*, with prices held down so that there will be no future need of changes. Pinning the wage case to the future means no stabilization. Only by extending the act without any crippling amendments can a future without rising prices be possible.

I asked Wolcott if he thought these matters would be a political issue in the '44 elections. "The domestic front?" he asked placidly, puffing away. "Yes, the irritations and hardships will doubtless be an issue, but a secondary one. The main one? International relations." "Postwar?" I asked. He shrugged. "What are we fighting for?" he asked. This sounded familiar. Then I recalled that the week before a member of the Republican Senate steering committee had asked that question—but asked that I keep it off the record. It rolled off Wolcott's tongue, though, as mere conversational chit-chat. I thought I must not have heard correctly; he was speaking softly. I asked him to repeat. "What are we fighting for?" he asked casually. "Where are we going to stop? You say unconditional surrender. Well, unconditional surrender's all right by me," he said, with a playful simper, "but I've got folders of letters here from people who think we could have ended the war sooner if we hadn't stipulated unconditional surrender."

IT IS no accident that the leader of the drive to unloose prices in the Senate is Taft, the Ohio defeatist and chairman of the Republican Senate steering committee. A member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, Taft's hatchet is a meat axe. The fancy work he leaves to Sen. John Danaher's tricky blades.

Taft, who has presidential ambitions himself and regards possible dark horses for the Republican nomination with a wary eye, listened resentfully as the glamorous Mr. Johnston, who is taking on a suspicious New Deal cast these days in the eyes of the Tafts, talked about how necessary it was to hold the line. He threw in wages with prices, but Taft is one of those who is willing to let wages go up with prices—in the future. At the same time Taft attacks the WLB and claims it's already violated the Little Steel formula.

"That means you aren't for any amendments," Taft told Johnston. Johnston persisted smilingly that he was for amendments—"clarifying amendments." Replied Taft: "I don't know of a single amendment, and I've read twelve of them, which wouldn't result in some increase in prices or wages." He failed to cite any concerning wages. "Even procedural amendments would." He added he had never been for holding the line and wasn't now. Johnston spoke of an amendment calling for more consultation with industry. "What's the point of having more consultation unless you can get a higher price?" Taft asked. When Johnston replied, Taft interrupted to say: "We might as well quit if as you say we must hold the line. We might as well not consider anything."

THIS time it is not just a question of subsidies, although Wolcott in a broadcast designed to show "the Republican Party is heartily in favor of the extension of price controls," stated that amendments would be introduced outlawing "consumer subsidies." The public is now sold on subsidies, after the President's messages and the veto of the subsidy ban which was upheld. The Republicans and poll-taxers may even drop their fight on subsidies, if they think enough public support has not developed for a presidential veto of a bill containing less well-known inflationary measures but lacking a subsidy ban. Not that it's safe to assume they will. In any event the fight has to be on much broader lines —against all crippling measures, insuring against "innocuous sounding amendments which actually would stop enforcement of price and rent controls," as Rep. Howard McMurray, Wisconsin Democrat and secretary of the price control bloc in the House, sees it. "We're calling a conference for the middle of April," he told me. "We have a tough fight on our hands, but I think we'll win it. There is far greater public support of OPA than a year ago."

Brent Spence, Kentucky Democrat, who happily succeeds the late Rep. Henry Steagall of Alabama as chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, which will hold hearings from April 12 to May 9, assured your correspondent that he would hear all viewspoints and any national organization that wanted to be heard. This will be a change from last year's hearing, when union spokesmen cooled their heels for weeks on end without ever getting to testify on subsidies. The administration forces in the committee may be able to block most of the amendments which will be recommended by the Smith committee, provided public support is sufficient and labor and consumer witnesses make the issues clear enough. Including such price control stalwarts as LaVern R. Dilweg of Wisconsin, Ford and Outland of California, and, in recent months, Wright Patman of Texas, there are thirteen on the committee who can be counted on to resist any amendment which is a clear-cut threat to price control, with the crucial vote of Merlin Hull, Wisconsin Progressive, deciding whether or not they will have a majority of the twenty-seven members. Pressures from real estate interests in their home states are, if anything, stronger than other industry pressures and here labor and consumer groups have a real fight on their hands.

Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, Majority Leader John W. McCormack and Chairman Spence deserve credit for strengthening the committee by adding Outland and Daniel K. Hoch of Pennsylvania and replacing James A. Wright of Pennsylvania, a price control champion, who resigned to go on another committee, with Thomas F. Burchill of New York.

The Smith committee doubtless will recommend a series of bills on rent control which would sabotage the most successful part of the stabilization program. It was the Smith committee which actually originated the new line now taken up by the wrecking crew in Congress. Its devastating and unanimous report on rent control, written under the guidance of Rep. Fred Hartley, New Jersey Republican, and the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was made more palatable by a paragraph added by Jerry Voorhis, California Democrat, praising the effectiveness of rent control.

THE attack and defense on Capitol Hill which will develop over the weeks before June 30 will be recorded in most of the daily press, with the squeals and whines of the "victims" of our own win-the-war effort largely drowning out the voices of the anti-inflation spokesmen who are defending economic stabilization in more than lip-service. Reactionary committee hearings will act as sounding-boards for organized discontent. Of the rat-like scurryings of the congressmen who are deliberately spurring on those who complain against the "hardships" imposed by our only defense against inflation, too little is known back in their home communities. To correct that is one job for unions and progressives.

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"PM" AND THE COMMUNISTS

By A. B. MAGIL

"He who eats with the devil must have a long spoon." Old English proverb.

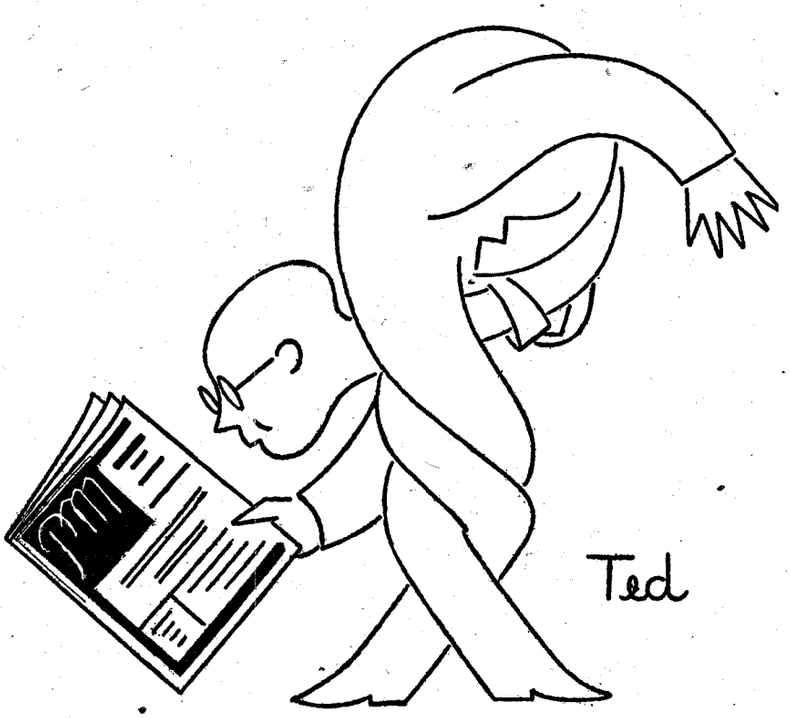
THREE days before the American Labor Party primaries *PM* began publishing a series of three articles on the "new line" of the Communist Party. The timing may have been coincidence. On the other hand, it may have been intended to substitute for the failure of *PM*, which has such positive opinions on all sorts of questions, to take a position on the ALP primary struggle—although some overly suspicious readers might have been tempted to deduce a position from the fact that *PM's* news columns were discreetly slanted in favor of the anti-unity right-wing group. Whether or not this calculation was involved, there can be no doubt that a series of articles giving a fair, unbiased explanation of the recent Communist proposals would have been most timely and could have rendered a real public service.

The man assigned to write this series was Harold Lavine. His fitness for this task can perhaps best be judged by his own self-characterization in his first article: "Though curious about the new line, I nevertheless was hostile, for I am hostile toward Communism in general." In other words, Mr. Lavine's eagerness for facts was held in leash by his a priori prejudice toward the whole phenomenon of which those facts were a part. Thus in purporting to give its readers objective information concerning the new Communist approach to the postwar period *PM* was offering goods under a false label.

The editors of *PM* decided to freshen up this disreputable merchandise by arranging an interview with the most authoritative spokesman for the Communist Party, Earl Browder. And since it was their intention merely to find source material for playing new variations on old prejudices they did not think it necessary to acquaint themselves or their readers with anything Mr. Browder or any other Communist leader had said prior to the epoch-making day when *PM* interviewed him. Though the interview lasted an hour and a half and Mr. Browder took care to have it recorded in shorthand, Mr. Lavine in writing his articles found it preferable to give a minimum of Mr. Browder's ideas and a maximum of his own annotations on them. The results of this technique, if rather limited as far as conveying Mr. Browder's views was concerned, were eminently successful in conveying Mr. Lavine's and *PM's* hostility to those views and "toward Communism in general."

Perhaps a little too successful. For what Mr. Lavine conveyed above all, and what Max Lerner conveyed in an editorial on the conclusion of the series, was *PM's* hostility toward the Soviet Union and toward our country's established foreign policy of close collaboration with it. This, I think, was more than the editors intended. There are honest people who may think it possible to make anti-Communism a political platform without its affecting their attitude toward the country where the principles of Communism have been woven into the social fabric. Mr. Lavine has performed a service in exploding this illusion. I offer as exhibit A the opening paragraph in his second article (*PM*, March 27): "Anyone who imagined that Soviet Russia cast the American Communists adrift when she dissolved the Comintern just didn't reckon with the Communists. Whether or not Stalin was sincere in his alleged desire to dissociate himself from Communist movements outside the USSR, one thing is certain: US Communists simply won't dissociate themselves from Stalin. The new Communist Party line, which Earl Browder promulgated on January 9, is frankly linked to Teheran; and the outstanding fact about Teheran is that it was there Soviet Russia joined the Anglo-American coalition."

OVERLOOKING the fact that it was not Stalin, but the Comintern that dissolved the Comintern, note first that Mr. Lavine casts doubt on Stalin's sincerity. Note secondly that the charge against the Communists is that they "won't dissociate themselves from Stalin." That happens to be Hearst's and McCormick's charge against Roosevelt. To that charge not only the Communists but the overwhelming majority of the American people plead guilty. Note thirdly that a further charge against the Communists is that the new line "is frankly linked to Teheran"—to the agreement which is the keystone of our country's foreign policy and of its efforts to build an enduring peace. And note finally that Teheran is made to appear as something involving action by Russia alone, rather than an agreement which links the fundamental national interests of the three principal anti-Axis powers in an enduring relationship that creates unprecedented possibilities for postwar stability and peaceful democratic development.



Where Am I Going?

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Mr. Lavine has really said enough. But he insists on convicting the Communists on the charge of advocating collaboration with the Soviet Union. Of course, he doesn't put it that way. He starts with the assumption that there must be conflict between American interests and Soviet interests and that support of Soviet policy is therefore proof that "American Communists are either tools or agents of the Soviet Union." He quotes Mr. Browder to the effect that "the major factor in deciding the fate of the world has been the Soviet Union" and that "if the statesmen who decide the role of Britain and of America had had this fact in their minds for the last ten years, we would not have had this war at all"—obvious truths which all informed persons today accept. But Mr. Lavine tries to read into this an admission that Communists are concerned only with the Soviet Union and not with the welfare of the United States.

Fortunately one does not have to take Mr. Lavine's word for what Mr. Browder said. The full text of the interview appeared in *The Worker* of March 26. One of the passages that the *PM* reporter took care to omit came from a letter Mr. Browder read him, which the Communist Party addressed in September 1939 to President Roosevelt and to Congress. This letter, urging collaboration between the United States and the USSR, declared: "This common attitude of the two greatest world powers reflects profound common national interests which must, sooner or later, and preferably sooner, result in common policy and action, together with all like-minded peoples and governments, to banish the forces of destruction from the earth, to establish orderly international relations, to secure world peace."

It seems to me that the man who wrote that letter, with its remarkable prevision of what has become American policy, far from apologizing for his position on the Soviet Union, was fully justified in telling Mr. Lavine: "I am ready to put that up for all historians today to match with anything else that was said in that whole period." And behind Mr. Browder's attitude toward a friendly foreign power with whose destiny our own is closely linked stands good American precedent: it was George Washington who, according to Jefferson, told him that "he considered *France as the sheet anchor of this country and its friendship as a first object*" (Jefferson's letter to William Short, Jan. 3, 1793—emphasis in the original).

IN MR. LAVINE'S article there are other disparaging references to the Teheran agreement and to our government's policy of collaboration with Russia. "Compared with Teheran, Browder told me our *amours* with Franco, Badoglio, Peyrouton, Giraud, Archduke Otto, and King George of Greece, have only minor significance. In Browder's lexicon, of course, Teheran

means 'cooperation with the Soviet Union.'" And further on Mr. Lavine states that "liberal critics of the Communists" interpret their new policy as follows: "the Communist Party is now the purchasing agent for the Russians; it's willing to forget wage rates and working conditions, larceny of government property, and combinations in restraint of trade as long as US firms do pleasant reconstruction business with the Soviet Union."

Thus Mr. Lavine and *PM* have set up clearcut criteria for determining the validity of any policy: that it be not "linked to Teheran," that it do not further cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union, that it do not promote the expansion of postwar trade with the USSR. Again I repeat, I don't think PM intended to be that uninhibited. But its readers, who are familiar with those criteria from the collected works of Martin Dies, can draw their own conclusions.

A few additional words on Mr. Lavine's method of quoting, a method that sheds some light on the question of journalistic integrity. Concerning an editorial in the February 29 issue of NEW MASSES he writes (*PM*, March 26): "They attacked Vice President Wallace for denouncing Wall Street . . . ," and he quotes part of a sentence taken out of context. He assumes that when it comes to smearing Reds, anything goes and no one will check up on him. But in the interest of accuracy it should be noted that the editorial which "attacked" the Vice President began as follows: "This country is fortunate in having as its Vice President the most vital and constructive personality that has held this office since the days of Theodore Roosevelt. And in genuine progressivism Henry Wallace stands head and shoulders above the first Roosevelt." The editorial went on to attack not Wallace, but those newspaper men who have "tried to provoke President Roosevelt into lending some comfort to the Wallace-baiters." Only in the last paragraph did the editorial mildly criticize a speech of the Vice President's which, unlike a previous speech, failed to differentiate between the pro-fascist section of big business and that which supports the war. Mr. Lavine also writes that another editorial in the same issue of NEW MASSES "attacked the Kilgore committee report on cartels, deriding 'our embattled liberals.'" The editorial in question did not contain a word of criticism of the Kilgore report, but it did criticize liberals for attempting to use the report to justify utopian trust-busting and cartel-busting. The editorial argued that monopolies and cartels cannot be abolished without abolishing capitalism, for which the majority of Americans were not ready, and that the realistic approach therefore was "to curb their [the cartels'] worst features, particularly as they weaken the war effort and collide with the fulfilment of the Teheran decisions."

Mr. Lavine also summarizes the views of Mr. Browder and of NEW MASSES as follows: "So you musn't criticize Wall Street. That's conflict. You musn't criticize the Arabian pipe-line deal. That's conflict. You mustn't criticize the Baruch-Hancock report. That's conflict. You mustn't criticize monopolies and cartels." If we consider just the last two of Mr. Lavine's list of alleged taboos, we find that in its editorial on the Baruch-Hancock report in its March 7 issue NM, though, like CIO President Philip Murray, adopting a positive attitude toward the report as a whole, did criticize certain weaknesses, and one of its criticisms was: "Better safeguards than are indicated in the report are needed against monopolistic abuses in the disposal of government-owned property." What Mr. Lavine should have said was that we are against *irresponsible* criticism.

LET us turn finally to Max Lerner's editorial based on Mr. Lavine's labors. Of course, it might be said that after making such a laughing-stock of himself by his querulous and uninformed comments on the recent Soviet constitutional changes, Mr. Lerner has forfeited all right to serious consideration. But that is an *ad hominem* debating technique which Mr. Lerner himself reserves especially for the Communists. It should be noted that in the editorial in question Mr. Lerner does not feel obligated to quote a single sentence from the man whom he presumes to refute. He can dispense with that since Mr. Lavine has provided him with so many custom-built straw-men to demolish. Thus it is very easy to assume the air of an intellectual poohbah and assert that one must not underestimate "Russia's greatness in the coming years, or its molding influence in world affairs," but that this "is very different from believing that the world's fate can be decided by Russia alone," leaving it to the reader to take the hint and attribute the latter fantastic notion to the benighted Mr. Browder. But as in the case of his pupil, Lavine, Mr. Lerner's studied warmth toward the Soviet Union gets chilled by his spontaneous and gusty antipathy to the American Communist Party. After scolding Mr. Strawman alias Browder for "his willingness to throw on the scrapheap of lost causes the struggle for genuine American economic freedom" and for "his readiness to envisage a world handed over to despoilment by the cartels," Mr. Lerner tries to bolster what he suspects is a weakness in his case:

"The Communists may, of course, point to the fact that Russia itself has found it

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possible to operate on several levels at once. Its socialism has not kept it from seeking agreement with tough-minded capitalists. Its fighting anti-fascist faith has not kept it from striking pacts with fascist powers when necessary.

"But a struggling movement cannot do what a powerful governing group can. It takes great assurance, great strength, the support of a huge mass force, to play Machiavelli greatly. Stalin can do it; Browder cannot. Russia can do it; the American Communist Party cannot."

This is a revealing statement—again perhaps more revealing than was intended. That a distinction must be made between Soviet diplomacy and American Communist policy goes without saying. But the character of the distinction Mr. Lerner makes and the terms in which he conceives it are significant. This posing of large-scale against small-scale Machiavellianism tells us what he really thinks of Soviet policy and of the Teheran agreement. Stalin is playing Machiavelli—playing it greatly; every move he makes is designed to outwit his American and British partners—"rivals" would be the more accurate term—in an unscrupulous game of power politics. What trust can be placed in the Moscow and Teheran agreements—mere counters in this sinister game of the Soviet Machiavelli? If there is any other meaning in Mr. Lerner's Machiavelli image, let him try to find it.

Of course, being cleverer than Mr. Lavine, he takes care to write later in the same editorial: "As far as working with Russia goes, we are wholly with that and always have been. . . . There is nothing wrong and there is everything right in using the Teheran agreement—and others like it to follow—as the yardstick for international action." But it was for doing just that that you, Mr. Lerner, and your disciple, Mr. Lavine, attacked Mr. Browder. Mr. Lerner also writes: "It is true that the issue of Russian-American relations is the dominant one." Here again, after fulminating against Browder, Mr. Lerner is not averse to dressing up in his ideas. But what for Browder is a garment is for Lerner a figleaf. He is always ready to affirm his friendship for the Soviet Union in general and his suspicion of Soviet policy in particular—to support the Teheran agreement and to oppose a program designed to implement it. All this may be interesting as self-expression, but it is hardly responsible political leadership.

IN ITS articles and its editorial on the Communists *PM* has been caught in the trap it set for others. At the very moment that it was attacking Martin Dies for smearing Winchell and the CIO Political Action Committee, it was using Dies' ideology and methods against the Communist Party. Is it surprising that most of the mud stuck to its own hands? To get the full flavor of what *PM* has done, one has only to compare its three articles on the new Communist proposals to help assure a decent postwar world with the three articles it recently published by Kenneth Stewart on *Reader's Digest*, a magazine whose reactionary, pro-fascist propaganda *PM* itself has often denounced. The series on the *Digest* was so "objectively" written as to be almost ingratiating (a less charitable description of this *PM* series may be found in the current issue of George Seldes' *In Fact*), and it quoted generously and without challenge from the *Digest* editor's opinion of his own magazine. That it is possible to have honest differences with Communists without resorting to Red-baiting is evident from the rare examples that appear in *PM* itself. One such was Victor H. Bernstein's comment of March 16 on the *Daily Worker's* editorial on the Soviet "recognition" of Badoglio. Mr. Bernstein frankly expressed his agreement with much in the editorial and just as frankly stated where he disagreed. His was an approach on the level of intelligent discussion rather than on the level of appeals to irrational prejudice.

There is, of course, nothing sacred about the Communist proposals. They are being widely discussed and are meeting with more general approval than any previous expression of Communist policy. If Mr. Lerner or anyone else has a better program, I have no doubt the country would be glad to hear and discuss it. The problems of the postwar period are sufficiently difficult to require the thought and energy of all—liberals, conservatives, Communists—who sincerely seek viable solutions. But belaboring the Communists is no substitute for a program, as the right-wing fanatics of the ALP have discovered. Nor, for that matter, is the baiting of Secretary Hull and of the advocates of a fourth term for President Roosevelt.

TO THE BRAVEST OF THE BRAVE: The Distinguished Service Cross is being presented to Capt. Herman Boettcher, of San Francisco, by Maj. Gen. William H. Gill for extraordinary heroism in action. A few days ago America celebrated Army Day as millions of American lads prepare to go into heroic action for the final assault—the invasion of the continent that will finish off Hitlerism. (Capt. Boettcher, incidentally, is a veteran of the war for democracy in Spain, where he first faced the Axis enemy.)

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Sakhalin and Rumania

THE past week was a dreary one for the whole kit and caboodle of anti-Soviteeers—from the Pacific Firsters to the "what will Russia do in Europe?" school. Their grievances never had any foundation in fact except, of course, the fact of their agonizing dismay over Hitler's total defeat. The transfer of the Japanese coal and oil concession in north Sakhalin back to the USSR knocks many props from under them. Not only is this event a vindication of Soviet foreign policy but it is the most ample substantiation of the correctness of basic Allied strategy to storm and conquer the Hitler fortress before unleashing the full power of Chinese, British, and American might in the Pacific. Tokyo had counted heavily on the Nazi blitzkrieg to advance its own imperialist designs. Now she finds herself, as a consequence of the Red Army's drive and the Allied operations in the Pacific, in a relatively hopeless position. How weak Japan is was indicated in a most significant article by Eugene Zhukov, which NEW MASSES (April 3) republished from an outstanding Soviet periodical *The War and the Working Class*. The author emphasized that there are few people in Japan who now believe in victory and that the military scene in Europe has had a profound effect on Japan. It is obvious, then, that if Japan felt confident over the outcome of the war she never would have consented to the return of the Sakhalin concessions. While Tokyo has as yet not been pushed over the precipice, the truth is that she is tormented by impending defeat—a clear demonstration of how Soviet foreign policy has operated in the interests of America, Britain, and China in their Pacific struggle.

The Hearst press continues to make a great to-do over the renewal of the fishing agreements. Actually the new protocol curtails Japan's fishing rights by eliminating twenty-four fishing areas leased to her in the past. In addition Japan must pay a six percent increase in rents as compared with 1943 fees. But especially important is the fact that Japanese subjects are forbidden to fish in certain of the Far Eastern maritime provinces and, until after the war in the Pacific is over, no Japanese will be able to fish off the eastern coast of Kamchatka.

As for the "what will Russia do in Europe?" crowd, Foreign Commissar Molotov's statement on Rumania should put them on their heels. That small but vociferous coterie feared that the Soviet Union would cease fighting once it reached its frontiers and if it continued beyond those frontiers, the Red Army would establish "Bolshevik governments" and toss Europe onto the "rack of Communism." This was purely an illusion of overwrought if not sick imaginations. Any scrutiny of official Soviet statements, especially those by Marshal Stalin, could have quickly told these purveyors of hate for the USSR exactly what the Soviet government would do once its own territory was cleared of the invader. Mr. Molotov's announcement that units of the Red Army have crossed into Rumania and "will pursue the enemy until his final rout and capitulation" is a reaffirmation of fundamental Soviet policy, which neither covets, as Molotov stressed, the territory of Rumania nor desires to alter its existing social structure. That statement will have enormous effect on Hitler's Balkan satellites, who now have great opportunities to aid in their liberation from Nazi fetters.

Burma Objectives

THE fighting in Burma has been on the front pages recently, for the good reason that both the forces of the United Nations and those of the enemy have launched important drives. Both are designed to achieve a limited immediate objective from which larger operations may be sprung at a later date. The purpose of the drive led by General Stilwell, including Chinese as well as American troops, and the joint British-Indian effort, is to protect the air convoys to China now being flown across the mountains of Assam. It is also to establish advance bases for the eventual campaign to free the Burma Road. The Japanese counterstroke is designed not merely to defeat our campaign but to reach far enough north to break up the air route supplying our forces stationed in China. As we go to press it is impossible to say which side has gained the advantage. Both have made advances, but neither seems yet to have achieved its immediate objective.

The present campaign is no more than a fairly elaborate preliminary to much larger military operations. Informed persons believe that any large-scale effort to liberate Burma must wait until the close of the monsoon season which sets in a few weeks hence. That would put things off until next fall at the earliest. Meanwhile, however, the Allied nations may undertake other preliminaries, such as an attempt to recapture the Andaman Islands which lie southwest of Rangoon in the Bay of Bengal.

There is no reason to suppose that a conflict exists, as some newspaper gossips would have us believe, between Stilwell and Mountbatten. Possibly there is a difference of opinion as to whether the time is ripe for the launching of preparatory operations. In this connection it is interesting to note that *Sin Hua Jih Pao*, the Chinese Communist daily published in Chungking, is urging the Chinese High Command to begin a drive westward from Yunnan. Stilwell's forces need to be relieved by dividing the attention of the enemy before the latter has time to complete his defenses.

The difficulty, and it must be one that is growing more and more acute as preparations for large-scale action go forward, is political rather than military. Mountbatten has the job of basing his attack on an India whose problems are as unsettled today as they were a year ago. No basis of confidence has yet been established between the Indian people and the British government. Nor is there anything to contradict the impression that the Japanese have obtained a greater degree of cooperation from the Burmese than have their former rulers, the British. Until steps are taken to solve these serious political problems the military leaders will face difficulties which may hamper them more than any military obstacle.

The White Paper

THE battle against the British White Paper on Palestine will continue unabated, for it is one of those monstrous documents typical of the Chamberlain politics which spawned the Munich agreement. And whatever London may now do to restrict its enforcement, the White Paper's abrogation is still high on the order of problems demanding settlement in the interests of Jewish rights in Palestine, in the interests of the war and the peace, and in behalf of a practical policy to assist the victims of Nazi *Schrecklichkeit*. The terror fomented by a small group of Jewish extremists in Palestine handicaps such settlement. The acts of violence perpetrated by the Irgun (the nationalist military organization) against the British administration have already been denounced by Palestine's Hebrew press as playing into the hands of British and Arab reactionaries who could desire nothing better than this grist for Goebbel's propaganda mill.

Several weeks ago President Roosevelt declared that the American government had never approved the White Paper, a

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statement that was naturally in accord with his strong convictions that Europe's persecuted must be aided by one means or another. But in the Senate there are a group of men, notably Taft, Clark, and Johnson (the first a tory Republican and the other two bitterly anti-Roosevelt Democrats) who are trying to convert the national opposition to the White Paper into opposition against the White House. They charge Mr. Roosevelt with delaying the passage of the Palestine Resolution. That resolution expresses congressional support of free immigration into Palestine and the establishment there of a Jewish commonwealth—an idea upon which there is no unanimity among Jews or within the Zionist movement. The fact of the matter is that General Marshall requested that the resolution be tabled because its passage now would create painful military headaches. The President has supported the Chief of Staff and has made it clear that the Palestine resolution has not been killed, but that military necessities have made its deferment imperative until the time when these necessities do not intrude. The American Zionist Emergency Council—a coalition comprised of all Zionist organizations and groups in this country—has also agreed that action on the resolution must be "consistent with the exigencies of the war effort." We, therefore, much prefer the President's opinion to that of Clark, Taft, and Johnson, who have suddenly discovered that they can garner some anti-Roosevelt votes by becoming the illusory champions of the Jewish cause. Their record, with its origins in Munichism, is one of blatant obstruction to the administration's foreign program. Any pressure for the immediate passage of the Palestine Resolution is, in our opinion, ill advised and will certainly provoke more mischief than good.. But as for the White Paper, there can be no letdown in the battle to have it abrogated.

The President's Challenge

THOSE ill-intentioned men responsible for the tragic status of the soldier's vote will get little satisfaction from the President's act in permitting the service-vote bill to become law. He did it without his signature and he sent along a message which is, in effect, a clarion call for action to all who want to see democracy function for those who merit it most—those who, as the President said, "are at the front fighting

Breaking the Italian Deadlock

THE singular virtue of *Izvestia's* editorial on the Italian scene is that it puts the problem on its feet instead of letting it float aimlessly in an atmosphere charged with recrimination, nonsense, and asphyxiating hot air. How does this major organ of official Soviet opinion view recent events on the peninsula? In effect, it begins and ends by saying that the test of political progress is whether developments of one kind or another hinder or promote victory. And the editorial cites as an example that representatives of Great events develop along the path leading to the destruction of Italy?" Since this is not the case the Italian crisis must be remedied rapidly because anything else leads to the protraction of the war.

With this as the point of departure and as the framework in which all outstanding problems must be fitted, the editorial presents all thinking people with some facts which are not exactly new but which have not been widely circulated. The fact that towers above the others is that there has been no united effort to resolve Italian difficulties. What has happened in the past, *Izvestia* emphasizes, is that while London and Washington "have taken definite political action in relation to Italy . . . these actions . . . were not the result of joint decisions of all three Allied powers." And the editorial cites as an example that representatives of Great Britain and the United States have made statements that the Italian government cannot be replaced or the political scene altered until Rome has been taken. Yet, *Izvestia* reveals, this pivotal question has not been "the subject of joint discussions of the three Allied powers: it was not dealt with at the Moscow Conference or in the Advisory Council on the Italian question or in the form of current diplomatic exchange of opinions." It would also seem from a careful reading of the editorial that it was British officialdom that has been very careless by making pronouncements of policy without prior consultation.

All the alarums, then, about the Soviet Union acting unilaterally are untrue, and the truth is that the USSR is making strong efforts to bring about greater cohesion in the determination of approach and attitude. It is also clear now that the Soviet agreement to establish direct relations with Italy was soundly predicated on the desire to participate equally in the solution of Italian questions, to lift the fog which envelops Italian affairs. Until now this has not been an easy task for the Soviet government, inasmuch as it was not in a position nor did it have the representatives to undertake such tasks. On the other hand London and Washington were in constant contact, either through the AMG or other means, with both the Italian government and Italian institutions. For the USSR this problem has been reduced by the establishment of direct relations which, as *Izvestia* indicates, does not mean the establishment of diplomatic relations as we, and others, believed. Nor does it mean, as we insisted it did not, that this Soviet step would help Italy's non-democratic elements. *Izvestia*, as a matter of fact, trenchantly concludes that "everybody knows that it is certainly not the Soviet Union which is hindering the democratization of the Badoglio government. Even more, it is known that the Soviet Union is prepared in every way to help this task be successfully solved in the nearest future, and that it must not be postponed, for instance, until the capture of Rome."

With the Soviet side of the story now in the whole picture is clearer and it is obvious what must be done to make Italy a potent factor in the war. In the first place, there must be greater and more united effort on the part of our government, which has been more flexible and more modern in its outlook than London, with the Soviet Union to bring the British foreign office to a more sensible stand on Italian problems in conformity with the Moscow Declaration. And secondly, and equally important, is that unity between the Italian democratic parties and the anti-fascist elements within the government is most imperative for the prosecution of the war. The government needs a democratic overhauling on the basis of cooperation between itself and the parties that comprise the National Front. These are two objectives which will find the hearty support of all Allied peoples; and their rapid fulfillment will not only strengthen the Allied coalition in the military tasks that face it but will give the coalition deeper roots and profounder experience in dealing with the political problems that impend in Europe.

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with their lives to defend our rights and our freedoms."

The President is not finished on this score—he was certainly specific in his reasons for not signing the bill. It was so "confusing" that he found it impossible to determine whether the bill would permit more soldiers, sailors, and seamen to vote than the 1942 statute. Though he resolved his doubt in favor of the bill, he recommended a program challenging the state governments and Congress to guarantee the soldier vote.

When President Roosevelt polled the governors he discovered that at least twenty state executives planned to do nothing about authorizing the use of supplementary federal ballots, that nineteen would permit their use, or probably would, and that nine took no stand. (As now drawn, the bill would permit service men and women overseas the federal ballot vote only if they had applied for state ballots by September 1, and had not received them by October 1. In addition, the governors of their states are obliged to certify that the ballots were authorized by state law.)

The President said that the new soldier vote bill, at best, "might fairly be called a standing invitation to the several states to make it practicable for their citizens to vote." Nor does he absolve Congress from further responsibility. "Congress itself," he says, "shares the responsibility through the complexities of this bill."

Sen. Theodore Green of Rhode Island has announced that he and Sen. Scott Lucas of Illinois have decided to introduce an amendment to the new soldier vote law along the lines of the President's proposals.

Clearly, the job is not ended: the fight must be resumed without letup. Utmost energies must be expended to convince state governors and legislatures to change their absentee voting laws in accordance with the President's suggestions; Congressmen and Senators must learn that the electorate supports prompt action on the amendments the President proposed, cutting through the red-tape and making it possible for our defenders at the fronts to vote for national officers whether or not they have applied for state ballots or whether or not the use of the federal ballot is sanctioned by state law.

Lesson for the UMW

A LOT of coal miners this week must be pondering the sagacity of the head of their union, who blusters eternally that his is the best of all techniques to protect their interests. And woe betide the miner who questioned his wisdom. Well, last week the United States Supreme Court ruled that underground travel time in ore mines is compensable under the wage-hour law. Crampton Harris, the attorney representing the CIO's Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union that won the case, notified the United Mine Workers that, in his opinion, "the decision in the iron ore case will apply as the law of the land governing the work week in a coal mine." Obviously the principle obtains for all underground mining.

This victory climaxes a quarter of a century's fight on this issue. There was absolutely no just reason why the miner should not be paid for the hour to hour and a half he spent underground traveling to and from his diggings. As Justice Murphy, who wrote the majority opinion, said: "We are not dealing here with mere chattels or articles of trade, but with the right of those who toil, of those who sacrifice a full measure of their freedom and talents to the use and profit of others." Dismissing the mine-owners' contention that custom excluded the payment for underground travel, he said the wage-hour law was "remedial and humanitarian in purpose."

Now here is the particularly significant factor: though the miners have been pressing for the solution to this grievance for more than a quarter century, John L. Lewis never made a serious issue of it until this past year—in wartime when he fomented three crippling strikes on this score. He finally won only partial pay for underground travel. The great majority of labor considered his position reprehensible. They felt that strikes, for whatever cause, were aid to the enemy in wartime. And the CIO's ore miners, confronted with the same problem, decided to thrash the issue out in a non-Lewis manner. They sought a court decision on the portal-to-portal question. And Justice Murphy's statement underscores who was right—patriotic labor or John L. The latter's union will, as it should, benefit by this decision; we trust its members will come to some necessary conclusions concerning the merit of the man who poses as their omniscient leader.

While discussing the Supreme Court's decision on this issue, one should not overlook another highly important judgment it made last week: its validation of the OPA's authority to regulate prices and rents. This together with the portal-to-portal decision constitutes a crippling blow to those who seek to undermine the administration's stabilization program. It should greatly benefit those who want to continue price-control subsidies, as well as to adjust wages to the rise in the cost of living.

Coming . . .

We advise you to get your subscription to NM this week: you may find it very hard to get on the newsstands next week, and the week after. They will contain the final article in the series by John L. Spivak; a discussion on postwar problems relating to the colonial question, by Dr. Max Yergan, head of the Council on African Affairs; a piece from "War and the Working Class," in Moscow, on postwar trade; and an article by our science expert, William Rudd.

Fight for HR 7

THE four-months delay since HR 7, the Marcantonio anti-poll tax bill, was reported out of the Senate Judiciary Committee is to be concluded, and the bill will be called up promptly after the Senate returns from the current recess April 17. Sen. Alben Barkley, majority leader, who has compromised up to this point with the southern reactionaries, was definitely committed to give the bill full right of way, in a conference with Sen. Pat McCarran (Democrat, Nevada), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and Sen. James Mead, New York Democrat. Senator Mead, who made the announcement on HR 7 last week, will bring up the bill, and deserves full support for his decision to lead the difficult fight on the floor for its passage. The House acted favorably on the measure many months ago.

During the recess the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax, widely supported over a period of years by the AFL, CIO, and Railway Brotherhoods, will need all the help possible in mobilizing voters over the country to see Senators while they are home and commit them to vote for cloture and to be present for all votes. An absentee will be a pro-poll-taxer. It takes only thirty votes at most to defeat a cloture rule limiting debate.

The strategy of the Republicans, who have benefited so greatly by the anti-administration reactionaries from the eight poll tax states, will be to do nothing publicly to appear to oppose cloture. To date more commitments have been obtained from them than from Democrats. At the same time only a handful of Republicans need vote against cloture to pay back all the favors they have gained from the poll-taxers—in the soldiers' vote fight, subsidies, general sniping at the administration—and those favors they expect in the nearing battle over amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act. However, as the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax declares, the means to defeat a filibuster by an irresponsible minority exists, and "in time of war . . . the Senate cannot in fairness tolerate so flagrant an abuse of the principle of majority rule."

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THE AMERICAN WAY

By THE EDITORS

THE American way is to decide issues by the ballot and to accept the vote of the majority as the will of the people. This is the way of democracy everywhere, the way of the world when the Axis tyranny is overthrown and the war is won. The fascist way is to decide issues by terrorism and violence, by branding all opponents as "Communists," by foisting minority rule on the majority of the people. Last Tuesday in the American Labor Party primaries in New York State and in the special election in the Second Congressional District in Oklahoma the American way triumphed. The voters repudiated the slogans and tactics imported from our fascist enemies. They affirmed their faith in President Roosevelt and their desire that he continue as the nation's leader. These were victories for the whole of America.

The lessons of New York and Oklahoma are momentous. In New York a narrow stratum of right-wing leaders, representative neither of the AFL, the CIO, nor the middle-class liberals of the state, sought to maintain exclusive dictatorial control by rejecting all proposals for broadening and unifying the party and by offering themselves as the saviors of mankind from "Communism." But that slogan, coming from the lips of David Dubinsky, carried no more weight with the vast majority of the ALP voters than it does coming from the lips of Goebbels. Aside from the fact that the word "Communism" itself, used as a bugaboo, has lost its old black magic, the right-wing leaders insulted the intelligence of the voters by asking them to believe that Sidney Hillman, the CIO Political Action Committee, Mayor LaGuardia, and the great movement for a united ALP were all part of a plot to deliver the organization into the hands of a relatively small group, the Communist Party. Certainly the history of American political struggles knows no more frantic, unscrupulous, and bullheaded attempt to stampede the voters on fake issues than the right-wing campaign.

That only one New York newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, opposed this campaign and that even liberal publications like *PM*, the *Nation*, and the *New Republic* gave it furtive and shamefaced support, reveals the low estate of journalistic morals and the extent to which these so-called molders of opinion lag behind the public whom they profess to guide. The right-wing campaign also gave Martin Dies the cue he needed to synchronize his so-called investigation of the CIO Political Action Committee—which proved to be an attack on the whole CIO—with the efforts of the Dubinsky-Rose-Counts crowd.

The primary results were a striking vindication of all those who worked for a united Labor Party. Of some 180,000 enrolled ALP voters, about 90,000 participated in the primary, a higher proportion than in any New York party primary in years. Of the sixty-two assembly districts in New York City, the slate of the Committee for a United Labor Party swept all but two. Included in this landslide were all the districts in the Bronx, the last remaining right-wing bastion in New York City. Full results for upstate, where the real strength of the right wing had lain in previous primaries, are not yet available, but there too it is clear that the voters in a preponderant majority of the assembly districts deserted the former leadership and voted for the program of unity and support of President Roosevelt's reelection. It is estimated that candidates of the United Labor Party Committee won more than six hundred of the 750 places on the state committee.

What lay behind this remarkable showing? From the New York *Post*, which campaigned furiously for the Old Guard, came the significant editorial admission (even though couched in Red-baiting terminology) that the side it favored "was defeated for a number of reasons, the chief one being that this year the program of the Communist Party and of the wing it established within the ALP happened to coincide with the program of most Americans. The Communists are for the Teheran agreement, for an efficient prosecution of the war, for labor peace. All these things have the support of the nation." The clear inference of this statement is that the right-wing leaders lost because what they stood for did not have the support of the nation.

As soon as the results were in, Sidney Hillman once more issued an appeal to his defeated opponents to place the larger issues above partisan vindictiveness. The reply of the right-wing junta was: more Red-baiting invective, more insults and threats to Mayor LaGuardia, rejection of any collaboration with the elected representatives of the majority of the voters, and an order from Dubinsky to his followers to leave the ALP.

The fact is defections from the right-wing camp have already begun. Mrs. Johannes Steel, defeated Old Guard candidate in the Fifteenth AD, Manhattan, has endorsed Mr. Hillman's unity plea and urged agreement on a joint state executive committee. It is also evident that no unanimity exists within top right-wing circles concerning their future course. The Social-Democratic smear-sheet, the *New Leader*, has come out for a new party. Other right-wingers, while favoring some organization that will continue to fight the ALP, view a new party as risky at this time. And the New York *Post*, in its previously quoted editorial, even left the door slightly open to possible cooperation with the ALP. Meanwhile Mr. Hillman and the Committee for a United Labor Party have set machinery in motion for enrolling 500,000 members in the ALP and for extending their draft Roosevelt drive.

IN THE Oklahoma special election, even more clearly than in New York, the issue was fought out in terms of support of or opposition to the President and his program. It was the Republicans, cocky about the alleged nationwide trend to the GOP, who chose to make that the issue. All over the state billboards were put up with the slogan: "Vote Against the New Deal." This was no local election, but a major battle of the anti-Roosevelt, anti-United Nations forces in both parties, as evidenced by the fact that not only was the GOP presidential aspirant, Governor Bricker of Ohio, brought in to stump for the Republican candidate for Congress, E. O. Clark, but the Democratic demagogue, Senator O'Daniel of Texas, as well.

The Democratic Party in Oklahoma and nationally gave battle. Its congressional candidate, W. G. Stigler, campaigned vigorously in support of FDR. Senator Barkley, administration leader in the Senate, disappointed the Roosevelt-haters who had been wooing him in recent weeks, by coming into the Oklahoma district and likewise speaking up for the President's program. Organized labor also swung into action. The result: whereas in 1942 the Democratic candidate just squeezed through by the slim margin of 385 votes, this time the plurality was about 3,600.

The Oklahoma election, like the ALP primary, is a national signpost. The people want Roosevelt and they want candidates who will back him up. If the issues of winning the war and the peace are made clear, the voters cannot so easily be trapped by fraudulent issues, whether anti-Communist or anti-New Deal (they are often wrapped up in the same package). And those who have been ready to write off the next Congress as inevitably reactionary are revealed as too enamored of the mourners' bench to provide vision and leadership for the future. One election victory doesn't make a new Congress, but the real possibilities are not limited to Oklahoma. It will take sweat to plow the soil and plant the seed if the harvest is to be reaped in November.

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FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

THE DRIVE FOR ODESSA

At this writing the center of gravity of the Soviet southern offensive has shifted toward Odessa where during the past week General Malinovsky has captured the great port of Nikolaev (March 28) and now (April 2) moving straight on Odessa, stands only 24 miles from that city. A delicate and complex amphibious operation, combining the efforts of Soviet marines, tanks, and cavalry, has resulted in the capture of the fortress town of Ochakov which is the key to the entrance of the Dnieper-Bug lagoon. With Ochakov and Kinburn (on the spit of land south of the great lagoon) in Soviet hands, both Kherson and Nikolaev can now be used by ships of the Black Sea Fleet. This greatly eases General Malinovsky's supply problem for the final drive to Odessa.

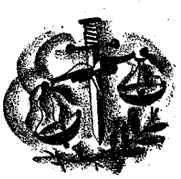
Marshal Konev's left wing is now racing toward Tiraspol which controls the point where the last continuous railroad from Odessa through Razdelnaya crosses the Dniester. (The other line, via Akkerman, is broken by the five-mile-wide Dniester lagoon, across which trains are ferried.) Still further to the west, other Konev troops are speeding toward Kishinev, the capital of the Moldavian SSR. The rail line from Kishinev to Yassy has already been cut, and all German communications now have to pass through the bottleneck of the junction at Leipzigskaya, eighty-five miles west of Odessa, in the center of southern Bessarabia (the line from Akkerman also passes through that bottleneck). The loss of Odessa and the consequent inevitable appearance of the Red Army at the mouth of the Danube (eighty-five miles southwest of Odessa) will not only hopelessly isolate the Crimea, whose sea lines will be cut by a Black Sea Fleet based at Odessa and Nikolaev, but will threaten the entire Balkan flank of the Germans. The speed of the Red Army advance (better than twenty miles a day in some sectors) is an indication that demoralization and disintegration has begun in Field Marshal von Kleist's southern command. Though this may be due partly to the admixture of Rumanian troops, who are simply running for home, there seems little doubt that the German troops, too, are going to pieces in spots. For instance, on April 1, 4,000 Germans were killed and 2,700 captured, a ratio hitherto unattained, except in case of encirclement, which did not occur in this instance.

Between Marshals Zhukov and Konev, the Kamenetz-Podolsk pocket was squeezed into a double-pocket. The northern pocket is already virtually liquidated, while the southern part, centering around the fortress town of Khotin (an old Turkish fortress, like Ochakov and Kinburn), is on the point of liquidation. The fighting here is of such a character that one should not expect a big bag of *live* prisoners. For all practical purposes Zhukov and Konev have made their junction on the Upper Prut, now in Soviet hands from its headwaters at the entrance to the Tartar (Yablonitza, Vorokhta or Delyatun) Pass which is 3,000 feet high and flanked by 7,000 foot mountains—down to Ungheni, across the Prut from Yassy.

Marshal Zhukov captured Czernowitz (Cernauti) on March 30 and is pushing to the mountain border of Bukovina (Kimpolung). His center has pushed up within fifteen miles of the Tartar Pass. Direct contact with Czechoslovak and Ruthenian (Carpatho-Russian) guerrillas has been reported. However, knowing the terrain and the ruggedness of the mountains in this sector, one does not expect too rapid advances to the pass proper.

It must be emphasized that the capture by Zhukov of Czernowitz, Shyatyn Kolomea, Delyatyn, and Nadvorna brings to a climax the great march to the Carpathians, which began on October 6 with the first crossings of the Dnieper near Kiev and at Kremenchug. The march has carried the Red Army 300 miles in six months. The German Dnieper Bend bulge has been transformed into the Carpatho-Prut-Danubian bulge.

The Red Army has reached the strategic corridor between the Pripet Marshes and the Carpathians. It is nearing the strategic corridor between the Carpathians and the Black Sea. However, there is another such corridor—between the Baltic Sea and the Pripet Marshes—which will probably be the objective of a northern drive this spring and summer. (Lvov and Kovel are the centers of the first corridor, Galatz and Forshan of the second, Kovno and Vilno of the third.) These three corridors were routes for the invasion of the Soviet Union. Now they are routes for the invasion of the Balkans and of Germany by the Red Army, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Polish, Yugoslav, and Czechoslovak armies.



IT IS now nearly four months since Morris U. Schappes, noted anti-fascist teacher and writer, went to jail on a trumped-up charge of perjury growing out of the Rapp-Coudert witch-hunt. Have you written to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, NY, urging him to pardon Schappes?

It has been reported that during March Allied planes dropped 50,000 tons of bombs on Germany and German-occupied Europe. Berlin got 6,000 tons. An interesting, although slightly facetious, observation is that a Soviet Army Corps (three divisions) theoretically fires 50,000 tons of shells in thirteen hours. Such an army corps directing its *aimed* fire at Berlin could blast it with 6,000 tons of shells in ninety minutes. Without much doubt the six thousand tons fired from *aimed* cannon would do much more damage than the same weight dumped at semi-random by planes.

Now, a lot of confusion has been generated by criticism of air power at Cassino. But since some of the criticism was illiterate, it brought forth weighty expert retorts, with the result that some got the impression that air power, after all, did not fail as an independent arm. Cassino showed that air power against fortified centers is not effective; it did *not* show that strategic bombing (though the whole question is not above doubt) is a failure.

Go back to the figures above. Now, remember that Leningrad as a fortress, as an industrial center, and as a great center of population, was under constant air and artillery attack for more than two years (September 1941, to January 1944). Six thousand tons of explosives (the weight dumped on Berlin in March) was a bagatelle for Leningrad—a matter of a few days of shelling. And what was the result? Leningrad fought on, lived on, and continued to produce (it even managed to produce during the siege some of the artistic mosaic panels which now adorn the Moscow subway). So why do we insist on thinking that we stopped German plane production to the tune of twenty, thirty, forty or even sixty percent? These are simply telephone figures, born of wishful thinking by people who want to win a war at bargain-basement prices.

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READERS' FORUM

On the Browder Report

To New Masses: I have some serious misgivings in connection with the meaning of one sentence in Earl Browder's report to the National Committee of the Communist Party. In dealing with the preconditions for the Teheran agreement he states: "British and American ruling circles had to be convinced that their joint war together with the Soviet Union against Hitlerism would not result in the soviet socialist system being extended to Western Europe under the stimulus of the victorious Red Armies."

Now, if this means that the Soviet Union stands committed not to stimulate directly and support militarily socialist revolutions in Western Europe, I am in complete agreement. It is in line with its consistent policy, in line with Lenin's teachings that the prime prerequisite to socialist revolution in a country is the support of the revolutionary party by the overwhelming mass of the people.

In the current discussion of the report, however, there is a tendency to go much further. The assumption is made that the Soviet Union has, so to speak, underwritten the maintenance of the capitalist system in Western Europe; that it would, at the very least, frown at any effort on the part of any European people to move toward socialism in the immediate postwar period.

I am firmly convinced that the Soviet Union has not made the slightest commitment of the sort. The most careful reading of the agreement discloses no basis for any such assumption. The Soviet Union is not interfering in the internal affairs of France, Yugoslavia, Belgium, Switzerland, or any other country. If any country at any time desires to move in the direction of socialism, I feel confident that the Soviet Union will not lift its littlest finger to prevent it.

Teheran is an agreement by the coalition to make use of democracy as an umpire in the settlement of social conflict in postwar Europe. With this the socialist forces of the world have reason to be content. Mark Sullivan, in his column in the *Herald Tribune*, may theorize that Hull and Eden must have worked like beavers in Moscow to convince Stalin and Molotov in behalf of Italian democracy. We know that the socialist forces always favored the maintenance and extension of democracy. Spain, Scottsboro, and scores of other issues testify to the fraternal attitude of socialism toward democracy.

From the stage of maturity capitalism has moved to a stage of decay. Lenin, in *Imperialism*, described the symptoms of decay and characterized the period as that of "dying capitalism." He made that diagnosis while capitalism was in the throes of its first major crisis, World War I, during the period when one-sixth of the world separated itself from the capitalist orbit. Within the quarter of a century that has passed since that diagnosis, capitalism has had but one five-year period of apparent health. The rest comprised the great depression, fascism, Spain, Munich, and World War II.

In this period the forces of capitalism have been becoming increasingly suspicious of democracy. Democracy involves the use of persuasion rather than force. The upholders of capitalism in its period of decay find it increasingly more difficult to defend the system that produced, aside from its normal crop of disasters, two world wars and a major world depression in one generation.

While speaking thus plainly, I am aware that internationally the war against fascism still needs winning, and that within our borders fascist forces are ominously stirring. To smash fascism internationally and to scotch it nationally, it will be necessary to work with an important sector of the capitalist class. There is fear among some of us that plain speaking may scare them away from cooperation. This approach, in my opinion, makes an unwarranted assumption of the naivete of what is actually a pretty sophisticated group. There is abundant evidence that the non-defeatist sector of the capitalist class are conscious that their system is in deep crisis. They are in close touch with first-hand information on conditions and tendencies in Europe, and they are not easily placated by mere pronouncements that the people of Europe will be content to remain under bourgeois rule for a long period. The reactionary policy of the AMG in Italy and the refusal of the Allied High Command to arm the French underground are but two of many instances showing that our governing circles are oppressed by a morbid fear of democracy, and that the forward strides they nevertheless make are dictated by the inexorable logic of historic forces. Among these forces are the Soviet Union, the popular forces of Britain, who have felt the impact of the swastika upon their bodies, the Yugoslav liberation movement, the European underground, the world revulsion against the "Master Race," and the driving logic of the practical measures which must be taken to conduct the war. These forces in their totality impel the de facto recognition of the Yugoslav and French liberation movements, impel Teheran. Let us not exaggerate the free-will aspect of these moves and let us take note that since the outbreak of the first World War, control of the social forces has been progressively slipping from the palsied hands of decay.

To summarize: It is my opinion that Europe will not complacently accept the theory that capitalism is to stabilize itself there for a period of years. In estimating the difficulties resulting from war destruction and Nazi looting, the people of Europe may reflect that the Soviet workers and peasants did not inherit milk and honey from the old regime. As for the ruling circles of England and this country, they have no assurances on this score. In embarking on Teheran, they have merely accepted facts brought on by an irreversible historic process. Teheran is the registration of a great victory won by the people of the world. It has been amply paid for with the blood of millions of Soviet soldiers and guerrillas throughout Hitler's Fortress Europa.

This does not envisage the immediate transformation of postwar economic disorder into socialism. It means that the forces of socialism and democracy will attempt to obtain a place at the steering wheel, mindful of the warnings of Marx and Lenin that the modern bourgeoisie had become too reactionary to conduct the democratic revolution. Its persistent search for and frantic clutching at "respectable" fascists clearly indicates that it cannot safely be entrusted with the task of sweeping the fascist and feudal debris from Europe. The struggle for a place at the steering wheel cannot be evaded. Teheran creates the conditions for a bloodless struggle, by way of ballots rather than bullets.

There is strong likelihood that under the imminent impact of East, West, South, and underground, the smashup of the Hitler regime will rush this issue into our lap. All the dark forces will then move to sterilize Teheran of its true meaning, to imbue it with a static content. We will be ill equipped to undertake the struggle for the correct dynamic interpretation if we disarm ourselves by theories of capitalist stabilization in the period of its deep decay.

New York. Irwin Edelman.

We welcome Mr. Edelman's letter, which shows a real effort to grapple with difficult problems. There is no doubt that his intention is to support the new Communist approach to postwar problems presented in Earl Browder's recent report. But unfortunately, like Lot's wife, he cannot resist a backward glance, with results that are fully as disastrous to his progress. He is quite right in saying that the Soviet Union will neither use the Red Army to stimulate militarily the extension of socialism to the countries of western Europe nor underwrite the maintenance of capitalism in those countries. But Mr. Edelman seems to us quite wrong in his conception of how the Marxists in western Europe or anywhere else should help fulfill the perspectives of the Teheran declaration. His thinking on this whole question is petrified by obsolete formulas that, if carried into practice, would precipitate the very social upheavals which the Teheran agreement aims to obviate.

Though Mr. Edelman speaks of the necessity of working during the war with the non-defeatist sector of the capitalist class, he, in fact, tends to regard the capitalist class as an undifferentiated reactionary mass that is "increasingly suspicious of democracy," "oppressed by a morbid fear of democracy," etc. Nowhere does he explain how it happens that a group which is "oppressed by a morbid fear of democracy" can be an ally in a war whose victorious conclusion will mean the strengthening of democracy and the destruction of fascism. And certainly such a group cannot be regarded by him as having any interest in implementing the Teheran program. Mr. Edelman attempts to get around this dilemma by saying that "our governing circles" are bowing to "the inexorable logic of historic forces." But among the historic forces which he lists he does not include that which for every class is the most inexorable of all: *its own direct economic interest*. For it is a fact that the decisive capitalist groups have a

(*Continued on page* 31)

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IS SANTAYANA A FASCIST?

By CORLISS LAMONT, JOEL BRADFORD, and HOWARD SELSAM

The discussion which follows is the result of an article "Santayana: Genteel Fascist," by Joel Bradford, which appeared in the March 14 issue of NEW MASSES. *The first part of the discussion is a letter from Dr. Corliss Lamont; the second, Mr. Bradford's answer; and the third, a communication from Dr. Howard Selsam.*

RARELY have I been so shocked as by reading NEW MASSES' recent article by Joel Bradford, "Santayana: Genteel Fascist," a review of George Santayana's most recent book, *Persons and Places*. Neither this book nor Santayana's notable work as a whole offers any reasonable ground for classifying one of America's outstanding philosophers as any sort of a fascist. Of course the qualification "genteel" hardly lessens the abuse, any more than if Mr. Bradford had spoken of a genteel murderer.

Like Mr. Santayana, Winston Churchill surely "loves tory Britain and honors conservative Spain," but that does not turn Prime Minister Churchill into a fascist; nor does a similar position bring into the fascist category thousands of other conservative Englishmen who are our staunch allies in the battle against Hitler. And Santayana's reference to Spain in this manner by no means implies that he is supporting the butcher Franco.

To be temperamentally an aristocrat, to be detached from the affairs of men, and to prefer solitude—even to be a snob, does not prove one a fascist, no matter how much we may deplore such qualities in a person. Nor does living and writing in Italy under Mussolini's regime prove Santayana a fascist. He went to live there before the fascists took power and he continued, as always, to remain aloof from the political movements of the country of his residence and of the world at large. For Mr. Bradford to suggest that Santayana has taken a path similar to that of the traitor poet, Ezra Pound, is most unjust.

As I write this letter, I can count from where I sit no less than twenty-seven volumes of George Santayana in my bookcase of philosophy. In making such an ultimate judgment on an author as the term fascist implies, surely an objective critic is obliged to consider the entire range of the writer's work. From Santayana's greatest book, *The Life of Reason*, published almost forty years ago, down to his latest essay in autobiography there is abundant material altogether contrary to the fascist viewpoint. For instance, Mr. Bradford could well have given some weight to this passage from *Reason in Society:* "Since barbarism has its pleasures it naturally has its apologists. There are panegyrists of war who say that without a periodical bleeding a race decays and loses its manhood. Experience is directly opposed to this shameless assertion."

The most important point of all is that reliance on reason is central in Santayana and its absence central in fascism. It is reason itself which, according to Santayana, leads him to his strange, unconvincing Realm of Essence. Though there is considerable confusion and inconsistency in Mr. Santayana's philosophy, especially in its later stages, he stays at heart a naturalist or materialist throughout. As he wrote in 1940, "The term materialism seems to me safer, precisely because more disliked." While most appreciative of the poetic aspects of the Christian tradition and of the meaning of this tradition for western civilization, Santayana is perfectly clear about the mythical character of religious supernaturalism. There is, indeed, a great deal in his work that is akin to Marxist dialectical materialism.

Joel Bradford's characterization of George Santayana as a fascist is all the more curious, since he admits that "Santayana has not trod this path to a conclusion. I think, indeed, that he never would do so." What Mr. Bradford does, then, is to hand over gratuitously to the fascists one of the most eminent thinkers of our time and one who he tells us himself will never actually espouse fascism. I cannot imagine a more grievous error of analysis and classification.

Fascism never has and never will be able to claim an intellect even approaching the caliber of Santayana. And George Santayana, philosopher, poet, and master of English prose, the man who writes philosophy more beautifully than anyone since Plato, need have no fear that posterity will in any sense identify him with the fascist enemies of culture and the dignity of man.

CORLISS LAMONT.

"The Scythe," by Helen West Heller

THE correct application of a name to a person depends on the person's exhibiting all or most of the qualities connoted by the name. If the name "fascist" is to be reserved to those who commit certain overt *acts*, then Santayana is not a fascist, and I am totally wrong. But I think the name is equally applicable to those who express certain *ideas*.

Since Dr. Lamont quotes from *Reason in Society*, I may be permitted to do likewise. I will invite the reader to ponder the following passages and then resolve for me whether or not Santayana is a genteel fascist:

1. "A state composed exclusively of such workmen and peasants as make up the bulk of modern nations would be an utterly barbarous state. Every liberal tradition would perish in it; and the rational and historical essence of patriotism itself would be lost." (p. 124.)

2. "What sort of pleasures, arts, and sciences would those grimy workmen have time and energy for after a day of hot and unremitting exertion? What sort of religion would fill their Sabbaths and their dreams? We see how they spend their leisure today, when a strong aristocratic tradition and the presence of a rich class still profoundly influence popular ideals. Imagine those aristocratic influences removed, and would any head be lifted above a dead level of infinite dullness and vulgarity? Would mankind be anything but a trivial, sensuous, superstitious, custom-ridden herd?" (p. 127.)

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3. "The pleasures a democratic society affords are vulgar and not even by an amiable illusion can they become an aim in life. A life of pleasure requires an aristocratic setting to make it interesting or really conceivable." (p. 135.)

4. "Friendship with a woman is therefore apt to be more or less than friendship: less, because there is no intellectual parity; more, because . . . there is something mysterious and oracular about a woman's mind which inspires a certain instinctive deference and puts it out of the question to judge what she says by masculine standards. . . . There is a natural gallantry of the mind which pervades all conversation with a lady, as there is a natural courtesy toward children and mystics." (p. 149.)

5. "Blood is the ground of character and intelligence. . . . Community of race is a far deeper bond than community of language, education, or government." (p. 165.)

6. "Some races are obviously superior to others. A more thorough adjustment to the conditions of existence has given their spirit victory, scope, and a relative stability. It is therefore of the greatest importance not to obscure this superiority by intermarriage with inferior stock. . . . Reason protests as much as instinct against any fusion, for instance, of white and black peoples." (p. 167.)

7. "Serfs are not in a worse material condition than savages, and their spiritual opportunities are infinitely greater; for their eye and fancy are fed with visions of human greatness, and even if they cannot improve their outward estate they can possess a poetry and a religion. It suffices to watch an Oriental rabble at prayer, or listening in profound immobility to some wandering story-teller or musician, to feel how much such a people may have to ruminate upon. . . ." (p. 74.)

8. "To fight is a radical [i.e., basic] instinct; if men have nothing else to fight over they will fight over words, fancies, or women, or they will fight because they dislike each other's looks, or because they have met walking in opposite directions. To knock a thing down, especially if it is cocked at an arrogant angle, is a deep delight to the blood." (p. 81.)

Some of these remarks (notably numbers 5 and 8) are somewhat tempered elsewhere in the book; but the point is that all these remarks are made. They suffice to show that Santayana's social philosophy is anti-proletarian, anti-democratic, anti-feminist, anti-Negro, and contemptuous of colonial peoples ("Oriental rabble"). If you can find a more complete list of fascist ideas outside the pages of *Mein Kampf*, I shall be much surprised. If you can discern in them any resemblance to Marxism, I will eat the twenty-seven volumes on Dr. Lamont's shelf.

It is true that fascism does not make reason the center of its philosophy, though I doubt that Santayana really does so. But supposing that he does, what kind of reason is it which leads (in Dr. Lamont's words) to a "strange, unconvincing Realm of Essence," and which protests against any fusion of white and black peoples? Santayana may call it reason; I call it thinking with the blood.

In *Persons and Places* Santayana tells us that he learned "honest dialectic" from Bertrand Russell. Now Russell is, as everyone knows, satirically disdainful of Marx-

Soriano

ism and rabidly anti-Soviet. If anyone doubts what sort of dialectic was thus learned, the following remark of Santayana should suffice: "Honest logicians never apply dialectic to history, and only in play to cosmology." If Dr. Lamont can find in this anything "akin to Marxist dialectical materialism," I will add to my proposed meal the twenty volumes of St. Thomas' *Summa Theologiae*.

Now for the comparison between Santayana and Churchill. Doubtless they both love Toryism. But Churchill fights on our side. Does Santayana? Santayana has lived in Italy throughout the whole fascist regime. Is there on record any public remark of his denouncing it? His fellow-Spaniards have lived in torment these eight years. Has Santayana lifted a finger to alleviate their distress? No, Dr. Lamont tells us, he "continued as always to remain aloof from the political movements . . . of the world at large." Well, now, join that inactivity with the ideas listed above, and you have the perfect portrait of a genteel fascist: genteel in inactivity and fascist in ideas. Today, as seldom in history, he that is not for us is against us.

I am sorry if my review seemed a little blasphemous, especially because, for my own part, I thought it not wholly unsympathetic. Nevertheless, just because Santayana's ideas have wide currency and some influence in America, it is necessary in these times to name them for what they are. I am likewise sorry to have been the occasion of a shock; but perhaps I may say that if Dr. Lamont has rarely been so shocked in his life, he must have led a singularly douce existence.

As for the future, if the human estate turns out to be what both Dr. Lamont and I think it ultimately will be, I am confident that the final judgment upon Santayana will more closely resemble mine than his.

JOEL BRADFORD.

NEW MASSES' recent review of Santayana by Joel Bradford was, I thought, delightfully done; witty, and not a little whimsical, but too gracious; perhaps too Santayanesque. True, there are no disciples of Santayana but there are tens of thousands of nostalgic former readers, especially of the late twenties and early thirties, and a commercial press eager to revive the vogue Santayana once enjoyed.

While I agree with your review in every respect, I don't think you took Santayana quite seriously enough. Fortunately, philosophers in general have not taken him seriously, but a fairly large reading public has. Some of them are in dead earnest, and so is Santayana.

One of the most interesting aspects of Santayana is that, differing from such men as James, Dewey, Whitehead, and Russell, he is a self-styled materialist. ("In order the better to eat you, my dear.") It was more popular and respectable to be an idealist but Santayana actually created a style—the style of idealism calling itself materialism. His philosophical writings, viewed from the standpoint of 1944, reveal him as a complete philosophical anachronism. There is not one principle or idea that isn't in the classical tradition, from Plato to Schopenhauer, though Santayana did occasionally cast side glances through his blinkers at Nietzsche and Bergson. Hegel might as well never have lived, not to mention Marx and Engels.

Since Santayana now enjoys belittling his Harvard colleagues, it is interesting to turn back to what one of them thought of him. William James, in spite of all the defects of his philosophy, did have his feet pretty firmly planted on the American earth. In 1900 he wrote that he at last understood Santayana, the man: "But what a perfection of rottenness in a philosophy! I don't think I ever knew the anti-realistic view to be propounded with so impudently superior an air. It is refreshing to see a representative of moribund Latinity rise up and administer such reproof to us barbarians in the hour of our triumph . . . as if the 'world of values' *were* independent of existence."

Again in 1905, upon reading *The Life of Reason*, James wrote: ". . . there is something profoundly alienating in his unsympathetic tone, his 'preciousness' and superciliousness. The book is Emerson's first rival and successor, but how different the reader's feeling! The same things in Emerson's mouth would sound entirely different. Emerson receptive, expansive, as if handling life through a wide funnel with a great indraught; Santayana as if through a pin-point orifice that emits his cooling spray outward over the universe like a nose-disinfectant from an 'atomizer'. . . ." (*Letters of William James:* II, p. 122.)

I think these evaluations fit in very beautifully with those of Joel Bradford. Too many readers, however, were too

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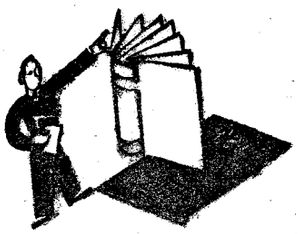

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captivated by the truly beautiful flow of Santayana's prose to see the "perfection of rottenness" underneath.

In my opinion, Santayana's most revealing work is his small volume *Platonism and the Spiritual Life*. Nothing of his more clearly reveals his reactionary intellectual role and his utter emptiness as a philosopher. Its glorification of essence and the spiritual life and contempt for science and existence are the logical end for one who so assiduously opposed materialism.

HOWARD SELSAM.

USSR in the Postwar Period

WHAT RUSSIA WANTS, *by Joachim Joesten. Duell, Sloan & Pearce. $2.50.*

MR. JOESTEN has set himself the task of putting the discussion of Russia's war and peace aims on a sound, realistic basis. While stressing the Soviet Union's just claims to western Ukraine, western Byelorussia, the Baltic, Bessarabia, and Bukovina—claims based on self-determination of the peoples concerned, as well as upon the thesis of Soviet security—he proves that none of these claims is contrary to the announced policies of the United States or Great Britain. With that as his point of departure, Joesten sees the declarations of the United Nations, such as the Atlantic Charter, and those at Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran, as steps in the working out of the stable inter-relationship of all the democratic powers, with Russia playing a leading part among them. This role the Soviet Union has amply earned by her tremendous sacrifices in the defeat of fascism and the liberation of Europe from Hitler's yoke.

To those who for purposes of divisive propaganda try to cling to an outworn Churchillian phrase, made many years ago, about Soviet foreign policy being "a riddle wrapped in an enigma," the author suggests that this was clearly a case where Churchill, the epigrammatist, got the better of Churchill, the statesman. Churchill himself, we believe, would agree with the author's disposition of the phrase.

By accurate and painstaking exposition of Soviet foreign policy and its consistent efforts to organize the democratic world in pre-war years to resist aggression and prevent war, Joesten demonstrates that there was nothing mysterious, enigmatic, or equivocal about that policy. He makes clear that in retrospect, it was the failure of the statesmen in the other democratic countries to see the danger and to grasp the steady hand of Soviet democracy that is truly baffling the world.

As an example of anti-Soviet propaganda exploits in the United States, he cites the case of Finland. In the chapter "How Finland Baited the Russian Bear" he shows convincingly how the Nazi-Finnish conspiracy against the Soviet Union and the peace of the world was prepared; while at the same time, the myth of Finnish democracy and innocence was carefully nurtured abroad, especially in America. The author deeply resents the propaganda hoax that was perpetrated upon the American public which obstructed its vision and interfered with its seeing the truth about the Soviet-Finnish conflict. He writes: "And when at last it resorted to war against Finland in the winter of 1939, what then looked like unadulterated aggression was in reality the school example of a preventive war, as has since been conclusively demonstrated by the Finnish record and by the march of events."

Equally constructive is his treatment of the propaganda conducted here and in Britain by a small but powerful group of former Polish landowners and politicians, with the support of the Polish government-in-exile, around the question of western Ukrainia and western Byelorussia which these anti-Sovieteers would like to include by force in the Polish state. The scope of their propaganda as well as their reckless drive to wreck American-British-Soviet cooperation, and the financial support they get for it, is illustrated in the fact that "in Britain where there live about 30,000 Poles no less than twenty-two Polish language papers are regularly published, nearly all of them being violently anti-Soviet."

The book takes the reader through most of Europe as well as through the Far East and demonstrates that there is no area in which American-Soviet interests can possibly clash; but that on the contrary, everywhere, the world over, American-Soviet interests are in harmony and that this harmony of interests constitutes a sure foundation for a stable and peaceful world after the present war is won in Europe and in Asia.

The book has the virtue of not trying to present all the peace formulas for a blueprint for the future world. Nor does it presume to predict every action of the Soviet Union. The work has, however, a few shortcomings—such as the author's speculations concerning what Russia would prefer to see happen in Germany, or the "ideal" solution of the future of the Baltic states. But these are weaknesses or peculiarities that do not greatly detract from the usefulness of the book. This is especially so since the author admits that they are his own notions or preferences for which neither he nor anybody else need fight.

THEODORE BAYER.

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A BOOK OF WAR LETTERS, *edited by Harry E. Maule. Random House. $2.00.*

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all, in what's happening to them. From the training camps they tell of the infiltration course, of test flights, and parachute jumps. Nurses in England describe receptions by the Queen and the Queen Mother. The strange customs of India and the natural wonders of Australia are the subjects for long letters. Then men in combat describe what they've gone through and what they are facing. They analyze their reactions under fire, sparing us only the most horrible and, perhaps, the most mortifying emotions of combat.

The total effect is sanguine. Essentially the writers are friendly, affable, and tolerant of strange peoples and strange customs. They are strong and brave. Everything indicates that they have been carefully selected for their positions, well equipped and trained, and imbued with the fighting spirit. A job has to be done, and they go about it vigorously with a minimum of complaining. The attitude is let's get it over and let's get home. Implicit in the letters is also confidence in a leadership capable of creating a huge, efficient modern army and of directing it wisely while giving each member the maximum of support and protection.

Yet there is something missing, something indicated by what the letters do not say. Although they ask for the support necessary to get the war over with, they show very little interest in the forces shaping national policy on the important issues for the day and the postwar era. The writers seem ignorant of what they are really fighting for and fighting against. As far as these letters testify, they are fighting for the general concept of democracy with no indication that they know its principles; they are fighting Germany and Japan and with no indication that they know the real nature of fascism and how it threatens us from within and without.

The question naturally arises, how representative are these letters? Can they be read for more than personal experience? Slightly more than two-fifths of them were written by commissioned officers. There are almost twice as many letters from the East as from the other sections together. By far the largest number come from college students and from professional and business men who have had college training. Perhaps editorial difficulties made a more representative collection impossible. Perhaps in his selection Mr. Maule was swayed too much by fluency and correctness of expression.

Whatever the reason, the letters do not substantiate the claims made for them. They should be introduced for what they are, an interesting collection of war letters. If we were to take Mr. Maule's claims seriously, we should have to conclude that ours is primarily an eastern professional and business man's war.

CLIFFORD HALLAM.

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THE NEGRO SOLDIER

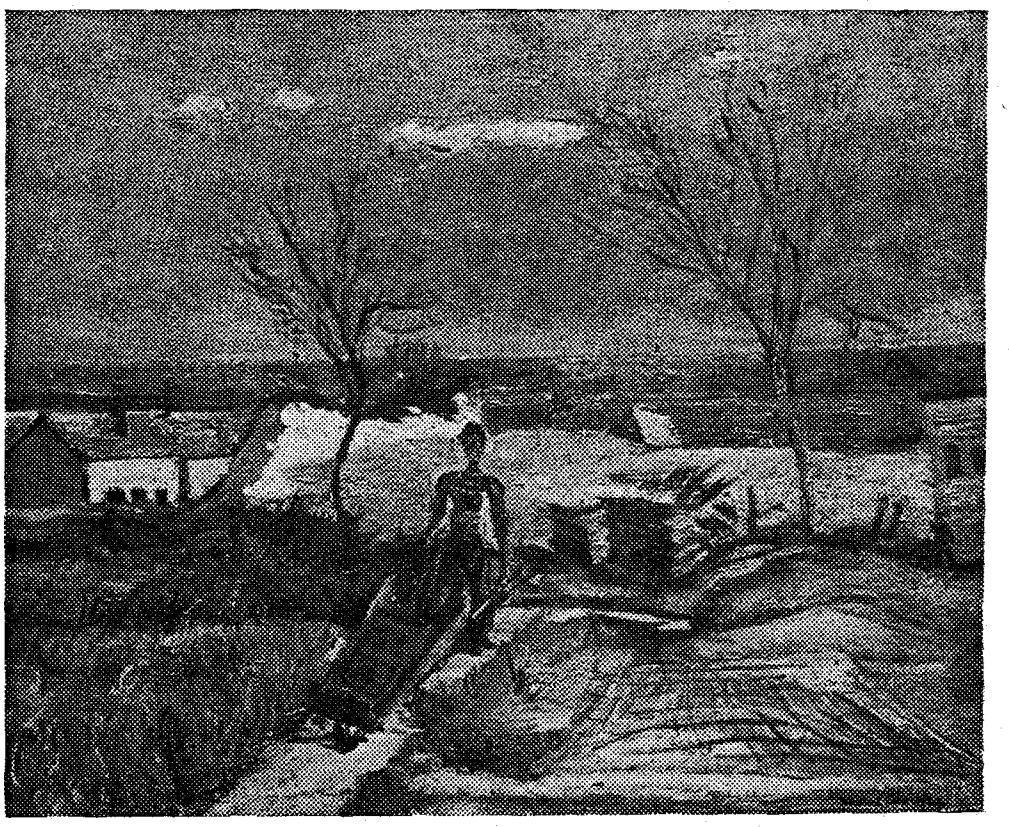
By JOSEPH FOSTER

THE US Army and the War Activities Committee of the motion picture industry are to be applauded and congratulated for the brilliant film *The Negro Soldier*, soon to be generally released. Its obvious theme is the history of the Negro soldier within the military history of our country, but more essentially, it shows how the Negro American has played his part in the building of our country, in moulding the concepts that underlie our social ideals, in shaping the cultural and industrial outlines of our republican past and democratic present.

This beautifully constructed film, after an introduction that makes clear the meaning of the war for Americans of all color, introduces the history proper with Crispus Attucks (killed in the Boston Massacre) as the first Negro soldier to shed his blood for liberty. Thereafter, the Negro is to be found in every important action—in America's early naval battles that successfully contested the sea lanes with nineteenth century England, with Jackson at New Orleans, and, of course, in the Civil War. In the last war, especially, our black troops covered themselves with glory. For instance, their 369th infantry regiment was decorated for action in the Argonne; this was matched by the record on other battlefields of the 371st, and of the 370th, to which France built a memorial. Hitler's thugs blew up this memorial as a democratic landmark, unendurable to the Nazis. But the Negro has left behind him far more lasting memorials. Not only did he help create America's heritage in war, but in peace as well. He was a farmer in the original colonies, moved west with the settlers, aided in pioneering the new lands of the west, in carving new frontiers. He worked on the Panama Canal, and was part of the bone and muscle that built the industrial north. By his sweat and energy and blood, together with the Irishman, the Jew, the Pole, the German, the Italian, and others, the Negro nourished the plant that grew to the stature of present-day America. He has rendered America richer in its science, literature, music—in every field.

YES, the film makes quite clear that without the Negro, we would not possess much of the cultural or physical wealth of which we boast. In the matter of athletic prowess alone, the record of our country in international competition often rested on the skill and strength of our Negro athletes. Take Joe Louis, whose lightning destruction of Schmeling made reaction writhe. Or take America's participation in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Ben Johnson, Metcalf, Owen, Woodruff, Albritton, and two or three others—a handful of men—scored sixty percent of our total of points. Without their efforts we certainly could never have won. Their running and jumping made Hitler froth over America's "Black Auxiliaries"; their thrilling performance made garbage of "Nordic Supremacy." Or take the Cuban baseball teams, that used to larrup our professional teams before the war. In the arts, the Negro was winning honors, contributing to the well-being of *all* citizens. In music, it was jazz, the secular folk music of the Negro, so to speak, that created cultural patterns now recognized as peculiarly American. It was jazz that caused Toscanini to say that here was the most exciting music of his day, complex, brilliant music, composed by men who often could not read a note. The film reminds us implicitly that in view of the remarkable achievements made by a minority group in the face of the most incredible odds, it is the sheer idiocy of Jim Crow that robs us of so much of our strength.

THE Army has made a tremendous contribution to the understanding of the problem of the Negro in the armed forces in producing *The Negro Soldier*. The ugly canker of Jim Crow still persists. Some traditions linger with the tenacity of error. But *The Negro Soldier* is an undeniable advance in beating this tradition to the ground. By the impact of its story, it inevitably raises the hope that in the near future, the existence of a mixed regiment of Negro and white troops will become a reality. Such a hope is nurtured by the fact that precedents for the success of such a step already exist. When Officers Candidate School accepted both Negroes and whites, many said it would not succeed, that white officer candidates would not willingly take orders from Negroes. But



"Brick Carrier," by Nicolai Cikovsky. From his recent exhibition at Associated American Artists, 711 Fifth Ave., New York.

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such people were studying the idea through the glasses of Martin Dies. For over a year now, candidates have worked together in greatest harmony. For those who say that the material at these schools is exceptional, and above rank-and-file quality, there is the refutation to be found in Captain Mulzac, Negro captain of the merchant vessel manned by a mixed crew. There is the further example of the Merchant Marine Naval Training Center at Sheepshead Bay, in New York, where Negro and white students eat, work, and bunk together. Nor is there any doubt that the valor of the individual Negro contributes vitally to such a plan—the famous 99th Air Squadron, fighting over Italy, the Dorie Millers, Charles Frenches, and thousands of their compatriots have proved that —fully.

Carleton Moss, noted Negro theater and radio writer, has written the script and acted as narrator. In the film Mr. Moss is a preacher addressing a congregation. As his audience hangs on every word, the minister evokes the pride and dignity of his listeners. In the expression of their faces, simple and moving, there is left only one impression. These mothers and fathers, with sons and daughters in the armed forces, are a part of the real America, whose one desire is to be given the opportunity to share in the war completely.

The Negro Soldier has indeed recognized its responsibility to the main problem of the home front. Its theme song is "Joshua Fit de Battle ob Jericho." In the light of American Negro history, I do not feel it is too presumptuous to expect that "the walls come tumbling down" has reference to the institution of Jim Crow.

★

For those of us who are forced to remain at home, the documentary film of the major military battles is a gratifying source of information. It is a record of history in the making, and by its invention we live through and understand many important military experiences. The better the documentary, the more complete will be that experience. Thus, even a film on war will include more than the statistical facts of actual battle. It will note not only the territory gained, the objective won, but the feelings of the infantryman crawling through the mud. It will stack the film files not only with strategic maneuvers, but also with the human reactions of the men charged with carrying them out. It must mark both the plans of the general and the observations of the social historian.

In most of these aspects *Tunisian Victory*, at the Rialto, is a first-rate job. It is a sequel to the earlier *Desert Victory* that dealt with the onslaught of the British troops sweeping Rommel westward across the Libyan wastes. The present film, a combined effort of the British and American governments, continues the story of the Mediterranean campaign. For the first time, in this war, American troops were engaged in action on foreign soil. I remember what a thrill gripped the vast audience at Madison Square Garden, in November 1942, when during a Soviet Anniversary celebration, the electrifying news came in that the Yanks had landed in Africa. By now it is old hat, but *Tunisian Victory* recaptures that first-felt satisfaction of knowing that American troops were now engaged in knocking off the Nazis.

The military plan of the film is based on cleaning the Nazis out of Africa. This meant the ejection of Rommel from Tunisia where he had taken refuge from Montgomery and the British Eighth Army. To do so involved the landing of American troops from across the Atlantic, British troops from England. Such a plan demanded precise timing, the maneuvering of thousands of ships, hundreds of thousands of men, without the knowledge of the enemy. Casablanca had to be taken in order to secure the left flank against possible enemy action from Spain. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that the Anglo-American governments have publicly admitted in any form the threat of danger from Spain.

The filming of these maneuvers is a beautiful thing to behold. In addition, maps, drawings, and animated charts are used with pleasing sufficiency, so that the least tactical-minded member of the audience has a perfectly clear understanding of the reasons behind each move. But the film is most important in that it establishes once and for all the fact that military battles are first conceived as staggering industrial projects. It emphasizes Stalin's statement that war is a competition in motors, and Voroshilov's conclusions that modern warfare is waged by laboratories. You realize more than ever that without the successful five-year plans there would have been no Stalingrads, no Ukrainian encirclements, no imminent defeat of Hitler.

Four full months before the first barge set its men down off the coast of Casablanca, the Allied leaders and their military advisors met to plan the strategy of invasion. It was figured that for each *single* soldier enfiladed by enemy gunfire, it was necessary to equip and support him with ten tons of material. Think of the vast amount of guns, tanks, motored vehicles, railroad track, locomotives, food, clothing, medical supplies, engineering equipment that entailed. Imagine the work in the factories, mines, mills, that the manufacture of such tonnage required, and you will appreciate how integral a part of the military battle is the work of Joe Doakes, the lathe operator.

I was somewhat disappointed in the film's handling of the individual soldier in

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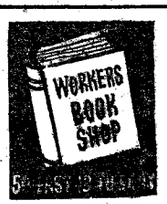

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the various phases of the battle. The camera passes too quickly over the face of the men. I never got to know their emotional reaction as they engaged in what must have been the most profound experience of their lives. You hear men singing, but you do not see them. I recall, from the newspaper accounts, the time the green American boys broke at the Kasserine Pass, and how they rallied their forces to retake all of the territory they had yielded. This action is covered by an animated map indicating the importance of the action, but nothing of the personal element of the battle. I would have liked to see their faces after they had chased the Nazis back to where they had started, heard their comments on the battle. Such details are what make the documentary live beyond its momentary pertinence, make it survive the importance of this or that military action.

By its general excellence, however, *Tunisian Victory* must be rated as one of the best documentaries made thus far; not only because of its inclusion of fine material, but also because of its over-all sentiments of victory, and because of its fine commentary and camera work.

IN THE WORLD OF ART

ABRAHAM WALKOWITZ, in his introduction to the unique (to say the least) exhibition "One Hundred Artists and Walkowitz," recently on display in the Brooklyn Museum, teaches the world a lesson that no two artists see an object alike. I carried away with me from the exhibition yet another lesson; a lesson and a warning to young artists. The lesson is that professional portrait painters are cheap flatterers and poor painters and the warning is: Beware of specialization in art, for specialization leads to stagnation. It is the non-professional portrait painter who has gone more or less deeply into the character of Walkowitz, has ruffled his hair somewhat and has painted him with his eyes raised skyward, dreamer that he is.

And what kind of an artist is this Walkowitz, this St. John the Baptist of art, as the late Jerome Myers called him? Come with me to the newly opened Schacht Gallery, 23 East 64th St., where an exhibition of twenty-two paintings and watercolors by Walkowitz is now in progress. The earliest picture in the show, "Central Park," is dated 1911 and the latest, "Carnival," 1932. These pictures therefore have, in a small measure, been tested by time. Well, time has been good to them. The pictures are fresh and bright as if they were painted yesterday. They are not dated in the least. They are quiet, poetical pictures of summer and spring, of "Castles in the Air" and "Gentle Breezes." They are delicately, sensitively painted, at times almost breathed on canvas or paper with a fine regard for color and texture. It is difficult to imagine that thirty years ago these pictures were considered radical and revolutionary.

It is a lovely and important show by one of the genuine pioneers of modern American art.

AN EXHIBITION of drawings by Raphael Soyer is now current at the Weyhe Gallery. It is somewhat a surprising show because one feels that these drawings were made by the artist in the seclusion of his studio to further his own experience and knowledge without thought of ever displaying them to the public.

Bryan Holme in his book *Master Drawings* defines a drawing as "the graphic outline of an artist's conception on any subject, alternatively, his intimate impression taken directly from life." This is true of a number of the drawings, especially the studies of Burliuk, Gorky, and Kaleikian, and of the girls and soldiers series which served as preliminary studies for Raphael Soyer's paintings. The greater number of the drawings, however, are complete, rounded out, independent studies of the human head and figure. In all these drawings the artist reveals himself as a master of characterization, sensitive line, expressive movement, and informal gesture. These sober drawings are mostly in brown or black ink or charcoal. Some are heightened with a bit of water-color. One leaves the exhibition with a profound feeling that a fine artist can say something significantly human and touching in a simple drawing of a girl adjusting her slip.

A HUGE, poorly hung and, in general, badly presented exhibition of some seventy paintings and gouaches of Louis Ribak is on display in Macy's Department Store under the auspices of Masterpieces of Tomorrow.

I know of no artist to whose work the term "proletarian art" could be applied with greater justice than to that of Louis Ribak. It is sincere, eloquent, gusty, at times rather fumbling, and at times rather drab work. John Sloan said once: "If you want to make good art paint a common thing." Ribak paints common, everyday things. The people he paints too are everyday people; factory workers, miners, fishermen, punchdrunk prizefighters, scrawny tenement children, chess and billiard players, waitresses. He paints them knowingly and with sympathy, as if he were one of them. Regard his ambitious, carefully composed "Old Master." How well observed are the attitudes of the billiard player and

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the solemn onlookers, and how true is the distribution of the harsh neon lights and deep shadows. Ribak must have spent many hours at the billiard table (I am told he is a poor but persevering player) to be able to convey so truthfully the local color, the smoky atmosphere, the feeling of noise and concentration of the pool parlor. There are a number of fine landscapes in the show too. Not real estate landscapes but fine, moody studies of windswept skies, rocks and sea. Quite apart, are several paintings of soldiers which Ribak painted from sketches he did while in the Army. They are realistic studies of camp life: soldiers marching, at play, sitting around a camp fire, etc. They strike a timely note and make one pause.

Louis Ribak has been painting for many years now. Why his work has not received the recognition it merits is a mystery to me. Is it because it is so completely honest, so devoid of mannerisms and superficial symbolism and embellishments?

MOSES SOYER.

On the Browder Report

(*Continued from page* 23)

major economic stake in the victory over Hitlerism, and without this stake national unity would be impossible. And it is likewise their major economic stake in postwar stability and peace that makes possible the extension of national unity behind the Teheran program.

When Mr. Edelman writes that "In embarking on Teheran, they [the ruling circles of Britain and the United States] have merely accepted facts brought on by an irreversible historic process," he unwittingly implies what the defeatists have been saying out loud: that Teheran represented a victory for the Soviet Union over its two principal allies. But Teheran could not have been possible unless it expressed the *national interests of all three powers*, including the interests of the patriotic capitalists in two of those powers. Teheran also expressed the interests of all other members of the United Nations.

Mr. Edelman dots the i's and crosses the t's by declaring that the forces of socialism should "attempt to obtain a place at the steering wheel, mindful of the warnings of Marx and Lenin that the modern bourgeoisie had become too reactionary to conduct the democratic revolution." Whether or not he realizes it, this envisages a postwar era of sharp class conflict and civil war rather than of peaceful democratic advance. His statement that "Teheran creates the conditions for a bloodless struggle, by way of ballots rather than bullets" hardly takes the curse off a policy that would cancel out those very conditions.

As for Lenin, he not only made profound generalizations about imperialism, but insisted that we study all its phenomena *concretely*. He would be the first to tell us that though the basic character of imperialism remains unchanged, the world in which imperialism shares power and develops close cooperative relations with the country where socialism is established is very different from the world of 1916 and requires new solutions for new problems. All of us have the duty to rid our thinking of cliches and to apply Marxist principles with the freshness and objectivity that make Marxism a living science. —The Editors.

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NEW MASSES is happy to introduce a new member of its editorial board—Virginia Gardner, who introduced herself to our readers with her piece last week, "Behind the GOP Steering Wheel" and her article on Art Young several issues back. Miss Gardner replaces Bruce Minton as our Washington editor, who, as announced last week, has left for California where he will live and where he will serve on our board as West Coast representative.

Our new Washington editor is a veteran of the craft, having worked for some fifteen years on newspapers in Kansas City, St. Louis, Oklahoma City, and Chicago. Many of our readers know her work as former Washington correspondent for the Federated Press. Others will remember her as one of those who founded the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges, and who served as secretary of that group for a considerable time.

A native of Arkansas, Miss Gardner spent most of her newspaper years on Midwestern newspapers, particularly in Chicago. We are interested in what the veteran Chicago newspaperman Robert J. Casey of the Chicago "Daily News" said about her in his book on his fellow-craftsmen and their experiences: "One of the best among the girl reporters in recent years was Virginia Gardner who brought to the business a sharp brain, a deft literary style, the courage of a marine top sergeant, and a shy retiring manner that phonies misinterpreted with touching regularity."

With this issue, Miss Gardner takes over our watch on the Potomac.

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